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OF

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VOL. II.

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MUNTAKHAB-UT-TAWÁRÍKH

BY

ABD-UL-QÁDIR BIN MALÚK SHÁH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADÁÓNÍ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY

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JALÁL-UD-DÍN MUḤAMMAD AKBAR PÁDSHÁH.

The Emperor of the time, the Khalíf of the age, Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar Pádsháh (may he ever be firmly seated[1] on the throne of the Khalifate and the seat of clemency !) with the approval of Bairám Khán, the Khán Khánán, began to honour and adorn the throne of the Sultanate, under an auspicious star, on Friday the 2nd of the month Rabi'ul-avval, in the year nine hundred and sixty-three (963) in the garden of Kalánor[2]—which, to this day, they have not yet finished laying out. Then he sent messages of conciliation and courtesy to the Amírs of the frontier, so that the *Khutbah*[3] was read also at Dihlí. And they composed this hemistich, as giving the date: '*More noble than all princes he.*'[4]

They composed also the following distich :—

'Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar, that prince of the age,
At the date of [the death of] father said : *Prince of the age am I.*'[4]

And another [*mnemosynon*] they found [for the date] :

'*The desire of fortune.*'[4] Then the world began to blossom like a rose-garden, and pitiless Fate, binding up those wounds, said :—

[1] The word in the text means 'ambushed' ; but transpose the *k* and the *m* and read *mutamakkin* 'established.'

[2] A dependency of Lahore. The year is 1556 A. D.; as for the month, see Elliot, V. 247.

[3] A form of praise and prayer consisting of four parts : (1) The praise of God, (2) of Muḥammad and his twelve descendants, (3) of royalty, (4) praise of, and prayer for the reigning sovereign. The mention of the Emperor's name in the *Khutbah* constitutes a legal proclamation of his accession to the throne. See Kitto's *Court of Persia*, 160-1.

[4] The sum of the numerical values of the letters of each of these three expressions, in the original Persian, gives the date 963 A. H.

"When Death removes a crown by force,
At once another head is crowned[1];
When one old age completes its course,
A younger rises from the ground[2]."

(P. 9.) Before the decree for the accession went forth, Bairám Khán had by all the arts of finesse enjoined on Pír Muḥammad Khán Shirwání,[3] (who with an army had gone in pursuit of Sikandar in the Mountains of Sawálik, as far as the confines of the district of Dahmírí) not to allow the news of the death of the late Emperor[4] to be spread abroad.

Now Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí, who was of noble Sayyid extraction, and of the country of Káshghar, in the symmetry of his limbs and the excellence of his valour was distinguished above all his compeers. To him the deceased Emperor had shown a special favour and a boundless condescension, so that he had honoured him by calling him his son. This man was a dullard. And in this place be it known concerning him that Bairám Khán had written an acrostic in twenty-four verses, of which the rhyme was *'azím* and *qadím*, and the rhyming letter *mím*, in such a way, that the initial letter of the first hemistiches composed the words "Ḥazrat Muḥammad Humáyún Pádsháh Ghází" ["My Lord Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh Ghází"]; and the initial letters of the second hemistiches "Sháhzádah [prince] Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar"; and the final letters of the first hemistiches the words "Mírzá Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí," together with some epithet or other which I have forgotten; and the sum of the twenty-four *míms* which closed the verses gave [24 × 40 =] 960 the date of the composition of the acrostic. I have heard from trusty friends, that the last time the late Emperor honoured Qandahár with his presence, Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí one evening, having drunk too much wine, slew in his bigotry a zealous Shí'ah. When the heirs of the murdered man came to demand justice, and the Emperor sent for Sháh Abu-l-Ma'áli, he put on the dead[5] man's robe of black

Compare: Le roi est mort. Vive le roi.

[2] Or *cradle*.

[3] On the spellingof this word, see Blochmann, Aín i Akbarí. 324 *n*.

[4] Nasír-ud-dín Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh, father of Akbar.

[5] Instead of *maftúl* read *maqtúl*.

velvet lined with (P. 10) red and blue, and putting the hanger[1], burnished bright, the very same with which he had despatched him, under his skirt, swaggered drunken into the royal assembly, and denied the deed. Bairám Khán on the occasion quoted these lines:—

" His disshevelled locks of hair To night-debauch confess ;
Lo ! a blazing proof is there, The lamp beneath his dress."

The Emperor was exceedingly delighted[2]; but the blood of that innocent one was hidden in the dust, and his murder was never proved. In short, when the royal Amírs summoned Abu-l-Ma'álí to the assembly on the occasion of the Accession, he returned answer, that he had an excuse and could not come; the second time they sent the message, that the Council was sitting and waited his presence, again he made excuse and sent some message of empty compliments, which Bairám Khán, thinking it the best course to pursue, accepted. But, when he came afterwards, Bairám Khán gave the order to Tulak Khán Qurchí, a man of great bodily power, who at that moment appeared on the scene like a spider's web [ready to catch a fly]; and, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, went unseen behind Abu-l-Ma'álí and took him prisoner, and asked to be allowed to blot out his name from the tablet of existence. But the merciful Emperor disapproved of this design, and said that it would be a pity to shed the blood of a [possibly] innocent man on the very day of his Accession. So he sent him to Láhór. He escaped from that prison, and went to Kamál Khán the G'hakkar. Now at that time the government of that country was in the possession of Ádam G'hakkar, uncle of Kamál Khán. The latter treated Abu-l-Ma'álí with honour, and the two set off with an army with full preparations for the conquest of Kashmír. When he arrived at the frontier of Kashmír, at Rájorí a number of outlaws gathered round him. And, in the year 965, a party of the Chakks (which is a well-known tribe, and the dominant one in Kashmír) took him with them, with the intention of conquering Kashmír, and there he had a severe conflict with Ghází Khán, the prince of the Chakks, and was defeated. After this Kamál Khán made an excuse for separating from him, so

[1] *A'véz* from *ávékhtan* to hang.
[2] *Viz.*, with this apt citation

Abu-l-Ma'álí disguised himself, and going to the district of Díbálpúr, took refuge with a servant of Bahádur Khán who at that time held the government there. The man's name was Tulak, and he had at one time been himself a servant of Sháh [Abu-l-Ma'álí]. So Tulak concealed him. But it so happened that this Tulak had one night a quarrel with his wife, who being vexed with him, went in the morning to Bahádur Khán and told him that Tulak was concealing Abu-l-Ma'álí in his house, and that they were plotting together against himself. Bahádur Khán, mounting his horse, had Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí seized and sent him to Bairám-Khán, and Tulak he ordered to be punished. Bairám Khán entrusted Sháh to Walí Beg the Turkomán, and sent him off towards Bakkar [*i. e.*, Mecca]. Walí Beg annoyed him very much by the way, and sent him towards Gujrát, that from thence he might go to Mekka. There he committed a murder, and fled and joined himself to 'Alí Qulí Khán[1]. When Bairám Khán received information of this, he sent an order to 'Alí Qulí Khán that he should send him to Ágra. At the time that, in accordance with this order, he arrived at Ágra the power of Bairám Khán was already on the decline; Bairám Khán, then, with a view to dispelling the suspicions of the Emperor sent him for a time to the fortress of Biyána. And, when he professed a resolution of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, he again took him as the companion of his journey. But after a few days Abu-l-Ma'álí separated from him also, and went to offer his adhesion to the Emperor. But, when of his extreme arrogance, he rode proudly up to him, this affair became the cause of his being imprisoned a second time, until he was sent to Mekka, as will be mentioned in its place[2]. It happened that, when, at the very time of the Accession, he fled (P. 12) from Láhór, Pahlawán Gul Guz his keeper committed suicide through fear of the Emperor's anger.

After the settlement of the decree for the Accession the imperial armies were levied against Sikandar [who was] in the mountain district. Sikandar kept up the war for three whole months, but was at last defeated. At this time Rája Rámchand[3] came from Nagarkot to pay

[1] See p. 5.

[2] See text, p. 39. l. 6.

[3] The most renowned of all the rájás of the hills. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, Elliot, V, 248.

his respects to Akbar, and had an interview with him. And the imperial standards on account of the rainy season, when they had arrived at Jálandhar, remained there five months.

Contemporaneously with the decease of the late king, and the Accession of the Emperor, Tardí Beg Khán commandant of Dihlí had sent Mírzá Abu-l-Qásim, the son of Kámrán Mírza,[1] with a number of royal Kháns, and some picked elephants, in company with Khwája Sultán 'Alí Wazír Khán, and Mír Munshí Ashraf Khán, to pay their homage to the Emperor. In the same year Mírzá Sulaimán[2] came with Ibráhím Mírzá[3] with the intention of conquering Kábul, and Mun'im Khán,[4] being beseiged, sent particulars to the court. Then the Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Atka Khán,[5] and Khizr Khán Hazárah[6] with a company of men to bring the Queen Dowager and the other wives [of Humáyun] who were in Kábul.[7] Now before the arrival of this troop [at Kábul Mírzá Sulaimán] had sent Qází Nizám of Badakhshán (who was one of his most honoured Ulamá and who afterwards was known simply by the title of Qází Khán,) on an embassy to Mun'im Khán to make proposals of peace, only on the condition that they should at once insert his name also in the *Khutbah*. Mun'im Khán accepted the conditions, as being the best remedy for the general distress, and Mírzá Sulaimán, being satisfied with this concession, returned to Badakhshán.

During the first days of the Accession 'Alí Qulí Khán, having received the title of Khán Zamán, led an army into the district of Sambhal against Shádi Khán the Afghán, who was one of the Amírs of 'Adalí.'[8] (P. 13.) And on the banks of the river Rahab[9] he fought

[1] Kámrán Mírzá was brother of Humáyun the father of Akbar.

[2] Governor of Badakhshán.

[3] His son.

[4] Governor of Kábul and Ghazni. Erskine, *Humáyun*, 509; Elliot, V, 249.

[5] See note on the page corresponding to p. 52 of the text.

[6] A tribe which inhabited the Hindu Kush. Elphinstone, 304.

[7] Humáyun, on invading India, left his family and harem at Kábul. Erskine, 509.

[8] The nominal Emperor of India at the time of Humáyun's invasion.

[9] Written *Rahat* with the four-dotted *t* by Firishta.

a severe battle against all Khán Zamán's available force, which consisted of two or three thousand horse, and defeated him. Khán Zamán was making preparations to dislodge the enemy, when, in the meanwhile, letters came from Dihlí, Ágra, and Atáwa, saying, that Hémun Baqqál with a murderous army, and elephants, and much wealth furnished by 'Adalí, having swept before him the Amírs from the frontiers of Hindustán,[1] had arrived close to Dihlí with the intention of offering battle. Then Iskandar Khán the Uzbek from Ágra, and Qiyá Khán Kank from Atáwa, and 'Abdu-lláh Khán the Uzbek from Kálpí, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khán from Biyána, and others from the frontiers, came to Dihlí, and joined themselves to Tardí Beg Khán.[2] But Khán Zamán, remaining on the same side of the river Jumna, was not able to form a junction with them. And Pír Muḥammad Khán Shirwání[3], who had come from the imperial camp with a message to Tardí Beg Khán, went along with the victorious[4] army. Near to Toghlaq Ábád [the ancient fortress] in the environs of Dihlí a sharp conflict occurred, and 'Abd-ulláh Khán the Uzbek, and La'l Khán of Badakhshán, who were on the right wing, sweeping the hostile ranks before them, continued the pursuit as far as the towns of Houdal and Palwal, and took much spoil. But Hémun, who with elephants huge as mouutains had remained apart from the fray in the centre of the army, shouted out for Ḥájí Khán who came up from the direction of Alwar,[5] and then attacked Tardí Beg Khán, who had but a handful of men, and in a single charge swept him before him; but he turned back for fear of treachery, and did not pursue the Moghul. At the time of evening prayer, when the Amírs of the army returning from their pursuit [of the left wing of Hémun's army] reached the camping-place, they, finding that Hémun himself had settled down there, having drawn out softly from the city of Dihlí, took immediately to flight. (P. 14.) But Hémun forbad his men to pursue them. And Khán Zamán by way of Mírat'h[6] joined this army

[1] *i. e.*, the north-west of India, the term does not include Bengál.

[2] The commandant of Dihlí.

[3] Compare p. 2, note 3.

[4] *Victorious* is a fixed epithet of the imperial army.

[5] About 60 cosses S. S. W. of Dihlí.

[6] Text, p. 50, p. l. 5.

at Sirhind. The emperor when he heard this dreadful news appointed Khizr Khán Khwája, the husband[1] of Gulbadan Bégum the emperor's aunt, to meet Sikandar, and intending to extirpate Hémun he made his glorious entry[2] into Sirhind. And there the scattered Amírs came to salute him. The Khán Khánán,[3] who, although he was in disposition alienated from Tardí Beg Khán, still in spite of this used to call him "Toqán," *i. e.*, "Elder brother," perceiving the cause of the defeat of that army to have been the treachery[4] of Tardí Beg, and having succeeded in impressing this on the emperor's mind by bringing Khán Zamán, and many others, as witnesses to substantiate his accusation, obtained a sort of permission to put him to death. So at the time of afternoon prayer he went to the house of Tardí Beg Khán, and taking him with him, brought him to his own abode into the tent, and afterwards at the time of evening prayer he rose up on the pretence of performing the ablutions, and gave to some men, who were held in readiness for the purpose, the signal to slay him. So they made an end of Tardí Beg Khán.[5] And in the morning, when Khwája Sultán 'Alí and Mír Munshí did not come to the Díwán, he, suspecting them also of treachery, had them imprisoned together with Khanjar Beg, a relation of Tardí Beg Khán. But some time after they regained their liberty.

Then Hémun in Dehlí gave himself the title of Bikramájít, who was a great Rája in Hindustán, from whom the people of Hind take their era, he lived 1600[6] odd years ago. When he had done his best there to subvert the ordinances of Islám he came with 1500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, to offer battle at Pánípat. He sent on his artillery before him, (P. 15) and the opportunity presenting itself to a com-

[1] Lit. "In whose net was &c."

[2] *Anglice* "retreated to."

[3] *i. e.* Muḥammad Bairam Khán Turkomán. The *tárikh* of his death is given on p. 45 of the text.

[4] But see Elliot's note, V, 251.

[5] Tardí Beg Khán was a noble of importance in the time of Humáyun, and one of his most *faithless* followers. Blochmann's *Aín i Akbarí*, I, 318. He was a *Sunni*. Bairám Khán was a *Shî'ah*, Badáoní, III, 190.

[6] His date is 57 B. C. The date of the year in which the writer speaks is 964 A. H. And A. H. is 621. Thus 57 + 621 + 964 = 1642, and the "odd years" of which he speaks are 42.

pany of the great Amírs, such as Khán Zamán, Iskandar Khán and others, who were advancing as vanguard,[1] they took it at Pánípat after some fighting. And Hémun raising the hopes of the Amírs of the Afgháns, whose leader was Shádí Khán Muswání, with a suitable augmentation and a gift of lands, opening the door of his treasuries, and giving great largesses, tried to console the army for the loss. But the Afgháns, since they were sick of his usurpation, began to pray for his fall, and in impromptus kept saying things to this effect: "Welcome a vicissitude even against ourselves;" consequently without delay he started from Pánípat mounted on an elephant called "Hawáy," and came to the district of K'haramanda (where there is now a famous caravanserai), and on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muḥarram[2] 964 A. H., (which day is also called Rózi 'áshúrá):—

"To friends it is a blessed date,
But unto foes unfortunate:"—

fighting and slaughter began between the Amírs of the vanguard and the hosts of Hémun. The Emperor and the Khán Khánán on that day were drawn up in three divisions, and kept sending help to one another until news of the victory were received. And Hémun, whose army was all dispirited, and who set all his hopes on the elephants, surrounded by his chiefs charged the imperial hosts, and threw both right and left wings into great confusion. Then, at last, through the efforts of the archers and the scimitar-strokes of some avenging veterans that breach was healed, and the wavering fortunes of the day were retrieved. Then Hémun, bringing up all his mountain-like elephants to bear upon one point, charged the centre where the Khán Zamán was stationed. But the soldiers of Islám received him with a shower of arrows, and Hémun in those circumstances, with his head bare, like one bitten by a mad dog, kept shouting his battle cry "give and take," and (P. 16) also repeating a charm which he had learnt. Suddenly the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off, struck his squinting eye so that

[1] *Manqaláy*, for *manghaláy* is a Moghul word meaning "forehead," then "vanguard," and must not be confounded with the Arab *munqalá* "ambassador."

[2] The first month of the Muhammadan year.

his brain passed clean out from the cup of his head, and he became unconscious. The troops near him, who still held out, when they saw this take place, fled. The army of the people of Islám pursued, and a general carnage ensued: and Shádí Khán Muswání, who was in the van of the army, was slain. Sháh Qúlí Khán Maḥrum[1] happened to meet with Hémun's elephant, and the elephant-driver said to him, "Do not kill me! Hémun is riding upon my elephant." So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadá-í Kambóh and the others, said to the Emperor, "Since this is your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward." But the Emperor replied, "Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so." Then the Khán Khánán was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadá-í Shaikh, and the others, deliberately made an end of him. Thus was fulfilled the saying, "What is the good of killing one who is going to be burnt?"[2] And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"If through treachery, deceit, and fraud great Dehli fell,
By Fate's decree, into the hand of Hindu Hémun;
Muḥammad Akbar, that Sháh whose glory reached the sky,
By help of God captured that black-faced Hindu Hémun.
Creation's scribe on lasting tablet with pen of power
Wrote concerning that day: *He seized Hindu Hémun.*[3]

Nearly 1500 elephants, and treasure and stores, to such an amount that even fancy is powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil. And Pír Muḥammad Khán, and Ḥusain Khán, (P. 17) a relation of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and many others, in consort with Sa'íd Khán the Moghúl, pursued the fugitives from Dihlí, and passing from Alwar they came up to the wife of Hémun, who had with her elephants laden with gold. She herself gained the mountain and jungle ground in the district of Kuwa (?) and

[1] See Brigg's Firishta, Vol. II, p. 189.

[2] *i. e.*, is going to Hell. Cf. text, p. 51, l. 10.

[3] The words "bigrift Hému-rá" give the date 964. The final *n* of *Hémun* is elided as in *Zamídárán* for *Zamíndárán*, text, p. 51, l. 7.

Bajwára,[1] but left the gold behind, the greater part of which the rustics[2] of the country of Bajwára seized; still the part which fell into the hands of the army of the Faithful was so great that they gave it away by shieldfuls, and "*nizár-i-zarhá*" "scattering of gold pieces" was found to give the date (964). And on the road, which the Queen took, there had fallen such quantities of coins and ingots of gold, that for many a year travellers and passers-by used to find them. In this manner the treasures, which Shér Sháh and Aslím Sháh, and 'Adalí had amassed through a course of years, were dissipated:—

"O mortal! eat, dress, scatter, give,
For life must needs end in the grave:
When one in other spheres doth live,
It recks not all that this world gave!
O lay not up the hoarded gold,
For many with excessive toil
Have hoarded up, with greed untold,
Wealth, which another seized as spoil."

When, the second day after the victory, the Emperor came to Pánípat, he had a mináret built of the heads[3] of the slain. From Pánípat, His Majesty came without delay to Dihlí, and caused the *Khutbah* to be proclaimed once more from the pulpit; there he stayed one month, and illustrious Amírs were appointed as governors of Ágra, Sambhal, and other towns. Then news came to Dihlí, that on the confines of Chamyárí, a place within 20 *cosses* of Láhor, Khizar Khán[4] had been defeated before Sikandar, and had arrived at Láhor. His Highness had scarcely departed for Jálandhar, when Sikandar had once more betaken himself to the mountains of Sawálik. (P. 18) Then the royal army going in pursuit penetrated as far as Disuha (?) and Dahmírí.[5]

[1] Text, p. 54, l. 7. It is in the neighbourhood of the River Satlaj.

[2] *Guwár* is the Hindústání *ganwár* a villager, rustic, from *gánw*, Sanskrit *gráma* a village: the word recurs at p. 55, l. 21 of text.

[3] Persian *az kallahá*, but compare Mírkhánd who says that Taimúr took a place, and az *sarháy kushtagán* manárhá sákhtand; and comp. our text, p. 169, b. II.

[4] Compare p. 7.

[5] Comp. p. 2.

Be it understood, that with reference to the occurrence of events I desire from this point to omit trifling occurrences, and to occupy myself solely with events of general importance, in fact, mounted on a single horse to give the reins to the steed of my pen upon this open race-course, and to finish succinctly the history of these 40 years, from the accession of Akbar[1]; but success[2] depends upon God!

In this year Sikandar shut himself up in the fortress of Mánkút, and the great Amírs day by day kept attacking him and pressing him sore. And especially Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khán, a relation of Mahdí Qásim Khán, was so persevering in those attacks that if Rastam[3] had been alive, he would certainly have acknowledged his merits. Moreover his brother Ḥasan Beg was killed:—

"Upon the top of thy mountain Ḥasan was slain,
Greater than of Karbalá[4] of thee is the bane."

And this perseverance, which was observed on the one side by the Emperor, and on the other by Sikandar, was the reason of the high estimation in which Ḥusayn Khán was held, and raised him day by day to a higher rank, so that valuable lands[5] were made over to him in fief, till at last he came into the government of Láhor, and in many places defeated the rebels. When eventually the siege turned out of long duration, and corn became dear among the garrison, and the Amírs of Sikandar one by one deserted him, and came to the imperial court, as for instance Sayyid Maḥmúd Bárha, and others, he brought forward proposals of peace, and sent his son 'Abd ur-Raḥmán, together with Gházi Khán Súr, with a present of elephants to visit the Emperor,

[1] The Pers. *Khaláfat-panáhy* is a compound adj. meaning "belonging to him in whom the Khalifate takes refuge," *i. e.*, "of the legitimate successor of the Prophet," meaning "of Akbar." It agrees with *julús* "accession."

[2] Luckily for us our author did not attain success in this his endeavour. For, while from other authors we can learn the bare facts of history, it is to Badáoní that we look for those little pieces of gossip, which give us such an insight into the manners of the times. It is this fact that renders this work so extremely interesting.

[3] Rastam a famous hero of Persian myths. See note to p. 51 of text.

[4] A place in Iráq, famous for the murder of *Ḥusayn* and *Ḥasan*, the sons of 'Alí.

[5] *Avlak* is Turki for "a field."

through the intervention of Atka Khán and Pír Muḥammad Khán, on the 27th of Ramzán[1] in the year 964, and surrendered the fort. Then Akbar issued his firmán that Jounpúr should be given temporarily[2] to Sikandar in fief, and that as soon as the Khán Zamán[3] should deliver the country before him [*i. e.* Bengal] out of the hands of the Afgháns, he should (P. 19) take his place. So Sikandar skirting the mountains came to Jounpúr. And when the Khán Zamán received possession of Jounpúr, Sikandar on the authority of a firmán asked for the district of Gour[4] that he might bring it under his command. There all sorts of accidents befel him, and after some time through the game of Fortune such a position of the pieces[5] came about that he even attached himself again to his old friends, and fickle Fate folded for him the carpet of gladness:[6]

"Fate's chequered board is not ever kind,
Nor can seed of joy be always sown,
These possessions must be all resigned,
Except mere dregs of joys which once were known."

It may here be mentioned that during the siege Muḥammad[7] Qúlí Khán Barlás, and Atka Khán, and the other Amírs brought the Balqís[8] of her day, the Queen Dowager[9] and other ladies veiled with the veil of chastity, from Kábul to the camp. And on the 2nd of Shavvál[10] in the year nine hundred and sixty-four (964) the imperial army moved towards Láhor. And during this march[11] ill-feeling arose on the part of the Khán Khánán against Atka Khán on account of one of the Emperor's elephants having run into the

[1] The 9th month.

[2] *Bi'lfi'l* which means in Arab. "actually" is here used in the Hindustani sense of "for a time."

[3] *i. e.*, 'Alí Qúlí Khán, p. 5.

[4] Gour is a chief town of Bengal.

[5] Referring to the popular game of chess.

[6] *i. e.*, he died, *viz.*, two years after his appointment. *Akbarnámah.*

[7] Cf. p. 5.

[8] The Queen of Sheba. See Al-Qor'án XXVII, 20-45.

[9] Her title was *Maryam Makání.* Blochmann, p. 309.

[10] The 10th month.

[11] *Yurish* is Turki for "a march", from *yurumek* "to go".

Khán Khánán's tent ; but Atka Khán came to Láhor, and bringing all his sons with him to the Khán Khánán's tent, took an oath on the Glorious Word[1] [that the affair was a mere accident], so all suspicion was removed. In this year, through the intervention of Mullá 'Abdulláh Sultánpurí,[2] Sultán Ádam G'hakkar hastened to the Court to give in his adherence. And between the Khán Khánán and him a bond of brotherly love was formed, and in the presence of the Emperor himself a quarrel which had existed between Kámal Khán and his brother's son[3] ended in a settlement. Then Sultán Ádam returned to his usual place of abode loaded with honours and presents. (P. 20) After the passing away of the rainy season the imperial royal army marched towards Dihlí. And while camping at Jálandhar the nuptial bond was tied between the Khán Khánán and Her Highness Salímah Sultán Bégam, daughter of Mírzá Núr-ud-dín Muḥammad, and sister's daughter to the deceased Emperor, when a great feast was prepared, and gifts and largesses were distributed.

And on the 25th of the month Jamádá II[4] in the year 965 the royal cavalcade alighted at Dihlí.

And in those days the Khán Khánán used to come two days a week to the court of judicature, and in conjunction with the nobles, used to settle the important affairs of the kingdom. Now, among the incidents which happened at that time, was the story of the affection of the Khán Zamán for Sháhim Bég. In brief it is as follows : In attendance on the late Emperor were two men of good looks, good disposition, and approved manners, belonging to the corps of the Qúrchís,[5] the one Khúshḥál Bég, and the other Sháhim Bég son of the *Sárbánbáshí*[6] of Sháh Ṭahmásp [of Persia]. Both of them were preeminent for beauty of disposition and appearance, the beau

[1] Al-Qor'án.

[2] Called Makhdúm ul Mulk.

[3] But in the text, p. 55, l. 1, Sultán Adam is said to be uncle of Kámal Khán. Consequently we must read here "between him and Kamál Khán his brother's son." See also p. 3.

[4] The 6th month.

[5] The Qúrchís (or *Koorchees*) were a corps of cavalry, composed of the *ancienne noblesse*, at the court of the kings of Persia of the Safevi dynasty. See also last line of this page of Text, and p. 56, line 11.

[6] Chief officer in charge of the camels.

ideal of the age, and paragons in the practice of valour. Now the Khán Zamán, before his appointment to proceed towards Sambhal,[1] cast secretly a glance at Sháhim Bég, and his extempore poem on the subject is as follows :—

"Of men and things there is no mark upon the board of life,
To me, love's pupil, naught but love for thee doth life impart.
Who else, as I for love of thee, lives such a weary life,
Grief's my friend, blood's my drink, pain's my sweetmeat, my food's my heart."

Now, when after the decease of the late Emperor he became an attendant on his present Majesty, he remained faithful to Sháhim Bég, who was one of the Qúrchís of the palace; and from the district of (P. 21) Lak'hnou he sent persons secretly to Dihlí, to fetch Sháhim Bég from thence to join him. So the Khán Zamán, following the manners of Transoxiana,[2] manifested wonderful affection for Sháhim Bég, and called him "my king," and gave himself up entirely to humouring him, and many times waited on him like an ordinary servant, and remained, while serving him, standing in his presence, and the like. Now I have heard from Mír Abu-l-Ghays Bokhárá of Dihlí (the mercy of God be upon him!), whose disciple Sháhim Bég had after a manner been, that at the time when Sháhim Bég came from the imperial camp to Jounpúr, agreeably with the age of youth, which "has just left the Presence of My Lord,"[3] was much occupied in prayer with the congregation, and in thanksgiving and reading the Qorán, and private prayer, and continual sanctity, and never turned his eye to unlawful things. And the Khán Zamán, through imitation of him, became adorned with scrupulous regard for the Law, and the

[1] See p. [5].

[2] Abridged translation.

[3] This is an Arabic quotation; but from what I know not. Compare:—

The youth who daily from the East
Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended.—*Wordsworth.*

The same word '*ahd*' is used for "age" and "meeting with," "presence," I do not see how to retain the paronomasia in English.

practice of holiness. And, to please Sháhim Bég, he deputed officers to go into his own camp that, enforcing the observance of things commanded by the Law, and preventing the committal of such things as are forbidden, they might abolish all wanton and forbidden practices. And Mír Sayyid Muḥammad Makkí, (who understood the seven manners of reading the Glorious Word, and with whom the writer of these pages had learnt to read the Qorán at Sambhal in the time of Islím Sháh), he retained with orders to instruct Sháhim Bég with extreme and boundless care. But, since the asceticism of youths is of unstable equilibrium, this piety was in a short time changed to the opposite :—

"Long time on my patience I myself did pride,
(P. 22) In practice of patience I displayed myself.
Love entered in, how could patience then abide !
Then thanks be to God ! that I have proved myself."

Sháhim Bég became attached to a dancing-girl named Árám Ján, who was very fascinating, and graceful in her movements ; apropos of which :

"No one can force th' affections of the heart,
Nor count on winning or by grace or art :
Many of beauteous form, and glances sweet,
Pour forth their heart-blood at the loved one's feet :
Many a one of fairest cheek, and mild,
Has been despised by him on whom she smiled."

Sháhim Bég could not rest till he had gained her, and although the Khán Zamán possessed this girl in lawful marriage, he gave her up to him. He was perfectly happy with her for some days, and then he gave her up, and made her over to 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán bin Mu'ayyid Bég, who had a desperate fondness for her. When news of the Khán Zamán['s misconduct] came to the court, the Emperor's wrath knew no bounds, and an order went forth from Ágra and Dihlí to Jounpúr addressed to the Khán Zamán to seek Sháhim Bég, and another was issued to the fief-holders of that district, to the effect that, if the Khán Zamán should be dilatory in this matter, an *Aghnágh*, *i. e.*, a meeting, should sit upon him, and bring

him to punishment. Then the Khán Zamán sent a confidential servant of his, Barj 'Alí by name, to the court to gloss over those faults of his, and to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was first of all to repair to the dwelling of Pír Muḥammad Khán, (P. 23) who was the Khán Zamán's plenipotentiary, and whose abode was upon a tower, and to deliver his message. It may be that harsh language was contained in the letter, for Pír Muḥammad Khán threw him down from the top of the tower, so that he was dashed to pieces. Pír Muḥammad Khán with hardness of heart laughingly said, 'This little fellow has become a victim to his name.'[1] When the Khán Zamán heard this news he set his heart on getting rid of Sháhim Bég, and extemporised the following :—

"When Union turns away, and leaves the country,
The [cold] wind of absence knows no bounds.
My breast is burning with desire for Union,
[But] my place of resort is the shop of the stitcher of fur."

And so, in accordance with the exigencies of the moment, he gave him leave to retire to the district of Sarharpúr, (which is about 18 *cosses* from Jounpúr, and was fixed as the fief of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég) that he might occupy himself there for a time in the pleasures of the chase, and return as soon as the wrath of the Emperor should be abated. So Sháhim Bég, in company with 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég, spent his time at that town, where there was an artificial lake of pure water, and a most pleasant garden, and a beautiful building in the middle of the lake, (and a most delightful and tranquil spot it is !) ; until on a certain day they had a wine-party and became exceedingly elevated, when—in accordance with the following :

"Singing and love and constant drinking
Are all three things which to madness tend :
When wine and love their arms are linking,
God be our refuge ! for bad's the end"—

he asked 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég for Árám Ján. He brought forward the excuse that he was married to her, and so Sháhim Bég became enraged with him, and all that friendship in a moment ended in hatred :—

[1] Viz. *Barj* "a tower," *nomen et omen.*

"Many have I observed, through the freaks of fickle Fate, (P. 24) Turned from hate to friendship, or again, from love to hate," and through pride and drunkenness of wine and youth he gave his orders, and had 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán seized; and, on the ground that Árám Ján had first been his, he demanded her from the house of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, and kept her with him. But Muayyid Bég, the younger brother of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég, from a strong feeling of his brother's wrongs, assembled a body of men, and attacked the balcony,[1] where Sháhim Bég and Árám Ján were together. Sháhim Bég rose to drive them back, and a fray ensued, in which insane affair an arrow reached a mortal part of Sháhim Bég, and he died. The following hemistich they composed as giving the date :—

"He cried *ah!* and said : *Sháhim is become a martyr.*"

Be it observed that, when the numerical value of "*ah*"[2] is subtracted from that of "*Sháhim Shahíd shud*," we get 963, the date. But, it is a disputed point, whether that fatal accident befel Sháhim Bég in this year, or the year before; probably the latter: but God knows. Then 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán fled to the court, where he was favourably[3] received. The Khán Zamán had put on mourning and pursued 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég to the water of the Ganges, but being unsuccessful he returned disconsolate [to Jounpúr] with weeping eye and parched heart :—

"In grief the Sun dropped blood at dawn,[4]
Moon tore its face, Zohrah its tress,
Night put on mourning black, and Morn
Raised a cold sigh, and rent its dress."

During these few years the Khán Zamán with a small force had several brilliant engagements with the numerous forces of the Afgháns, and obtained the victory over them. The history of this

[1] Pers. *Bálákhána*, whence the English word, formerly pronounced balcóny.

[2] $\hat{a} + h = 1 + 5 = 6$; $3 \times sh = 900$, $\hat{a} = 1$, $2 \times h = 10$, $y = 10$, $m = 40$, $2 \times d = 8$. Sum 969. And 969—6 = 963.

[3] *Tarbiyat yáftan*, here, as in Text 86, 17; 134, 9; 161, 12, is used in the Hindustani sense of "being favourably received."

[4] The word *shafak* means both "twilight", and "condolence", so that the expression in the original has the *double intendre* of "at dawn" and "through sympathy."

series of battles forms a model page in the annals (P. 25) of the time. Amongst them is the battle of Lak'hnou, in which Ḥasan Khán Bachgotí brought 20,000 men against the Khán Zamán, who had not assembled more than 3,000 or 4,000. Up to the moment when the enemy[1] crossed the river Karwí and attacked Bahádur[2] Khán, the Khán Zamán himself was engaged in taking a meal. When news was brought that the enemy was advancing to the attack, he called for a chess-board and kept playing at his ease. When he was told that the foreign troops had driven back his own men, he then at last called for his arms, and put them on. And, while the enemy was plundering his tents, and his whole army was in confusion, he ordered Bahádur Khán to retire ; then he, with a handful of men, with drums beating, fell upon the enemy, repulsed them, and pursued them to a distance of seven or eight *cosses*. The slain he piled up in heaps, and then returned victorious. So, also, at Jounpúr he fought with the Bengálí,[3] who called himself Sulṭán Bahádur, and had issued coin, and caused the *Khutbah*[4] to be read in his name in Bengál. This man advanced upon Jounpúr with between 30,000 and 40,000 horse, and the followers of the Khán Zamán were completely routed. When the Khán Zamán rose from table, the enemy found the cloth spread just as it was, and began to plunder. But afterwards the Khán Zamán with a small[5] body of men brought destruction[6] on the fortune of the Afgháns, slaying many and taking many prisoners; and such an amount of booty did he take, that his army was completely set up in stores. And, in truth, such was his kingly good fortune, that he, and his brother with his own troop, obtained such a series of victories on the eastern side of Hindustán, as has fallen to the lot of but few. And, had

[1] This seems to be an Indian use of the word *Ghaním*, see Shakespeare's *Hindust. Dict.*

[2] That is, Muhammad Sa'íd Shaibání, younger brother of the Khán Zamán.

[3] The *Gourí*, see note, p. 12.

[4] See note, p. 1.

[5] Lit. "a numbered band", like the Hebr. *m'théy mispár* "men of number," it means "a few".

[6] For the peculiar idiom in which *az* is to be rendered by "on" cf. note to p. 57 (Text). Or the phrase may be translated literally "Extracted vengeance from", cf. δίκην λαβεῖν παρά τινος, and Hebr. *niphra' min* "was paid from" *i. e.* "took vengeance on".

they not shown the stain of rebellion upon the forehead of loyalty, these two brothers would have been on the path to a royal distinction. But, in the end, they sank all that perseverance and energy in the dust of (P. 26) degradation :—

"For fifty years one may maintain a name,
But one base act will cover it with shame."

And the rest of their acts will be mentioned in the years before us, if God, He is exalted, will it.

And in this year the Khán Khánán brought to punishment Muçáḥib Bég, the son of Khwájah Kalán Bég, a man who was not free from evil qualities, and inward vice.

And on the 17th of the sacred month of Muḥarram in the year 965, which coincides with the 3rd year from the Accession, the royal train adorned the city of Ágra. And in this year took place the appointment, removal, rise, and fall of Pír Muhammad Khán : and this is how it came about. Pír Muhammad Khán from being a Mullá had become an Amír, and had been advanced to such a degree, that he became closer and opener of every important affair of state, and finance, as vicegerent of the Khán Khánán. All the Pillars of the State used to go to his house, and but few obtained admittance. His opulence had reached to such a pitch that one day, in the course of going from Dihlí to Ágra, when the Khán Khánán went on an hunting expedition with Pír Muhammad Khán, the Khán Khánán asked his private purveyors : "Is there no provision in store, for we are hungry ?" and Pír Muhammad Khán on the spur of the moment said : "If you will be pleased to alight, whatever may happen to be at hand shall be served." So the Khán Khánán with his suit alighted under a tree, and 3000 drinking cups, and 700 porcelain dishes of various colours(?)[1] were brought out from the travelling-stores of Pír Muhammad Khán. Though the Khán Khánán was astonished, he let no sign of his astonishment escape him, but great jealousy found its way into his heart :—

"Perhaps in this place you may chance to fail to see,
How many envious foes, and jealous friends there be."

[1] In the text we should, possibly, read *búqalamun* of various kinds, or colours.

(P. 27) When they arrived at Ágra, Pír Muhammad Khán was indisposed for some days, and the Khán Khánán came to visit him. One of the servants, who was in the habit of keeping off people, both great and small, came to stop him, and said: "Be pleased to wait until your request has been made known, when you have made application you may come in;" on this the astonishment of the Khán Khánán knew no bounds, and he said:—

"For a wilful fool there is no cure!"

When this came to the ears of Pír Muhammad Khán, ill as he was, he came running, and "after the destruction of Bozrah"[1] begged forgiveness, saying: "Forgive me, for my Porter did not know you." The Khán Khánán answered: "Nor you either!" In spite of this, when the Khán Khánán came in, not one of Pír Muhammad's household was dismissed except Ṭáhir Muḥammad Sulṭán his chamberlain, who had obtained that position with great difficulty. Praise be to God! for if the fortunes of that man be such what shall I say of myself!—

"O go not to the Sulṭan's Court,
For there indeed thou 'lt profit naught.
Let the gruff Porter's stern rebuff
For wisdom's warning be enough."[2]

And the Khán Khánán, after he had sat down for a moment, came out again, and Pír Muhammad was left to meditate upon the affair. After two or three days the Khán Khánán sent to Pír Muhammad Khán the following message, by the hand of Khwájah Amínáˢ (who afterwards became Khwájah Jahán), and of Mír 'Abd-ulláh Bakhshí, and a number of courtiers: "You will remember that you came to Qandahár in the position of an unfortunate student, and that when we found that you possessed ability and the quality of fidelity, and

[1] *I. e.* 'after the steed was stolen,' when it was too late. Cf. Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 137.

[2] Compare

Repulsed by surly groom that waits before
The sleepy tyrant's interdicted door.

Dryden's translation of Juvenal.

[3] Kh. Amínuddín Maḥmúd of Harát, financier and calligraphist.

when also some worthy services had been performed by you, we raised you, a mere student and beggar, from the lowest step among the degraded, to the highest grade among the exalted in (P. 28) Sulṭánship and Khánship, and to the post of an Amír of Amírs; but, since the carrying of a high position is not in your capacity, nothing but a suspicion of rebelliousness and baseness remains in you. So we will take away from you for a time the insignia of your pride, that your base disposition and inflated brain may come to their senses. Now it is right that you should surrender the standard, and kettle-drum, and paraphernalia of pomp." So Pír Muhammad Khán, in accordance with this command, surrendered on the spot to some of the Khán's people those accessories of conceit (which have carried a host of ignorant men off their balance, and do so still, and have driven, and still do drive them, from the path of manliness and generosity, and have made, and still make, them associates of the Ghúls of the desert), and become the same *Mullá* Pír Muhammad that he was before; nay he became poorer still:—

"Whatever the rolling heaven gives is but a loan,
In a mill the white is but contingent[1] to the stone."

Soon after this they sent the Mullá to the fortress of Biyánah, and there he was confined. And from this place he wrote numberless pamphlets on the subject of proof by *tamánu*,[2] which is that made use of in the verse of the Qorán [XXI, 22]: "If there were in them gods beside God, verily both heaven and earth would come to ruin," and is a well known method of argument among logicians: and others besides addressed to the Khán Khánán, and thus made endeavours at reconciliation, and liberating himself; but all was in vain:—

[1] Arab. *'áriz*, accidental, contingent, *συμβεβηκός*.

[2] *At-tamánu'* consists in two things rendering one another mutually impossible. In the verse in question are implied—that the ruler of heaven and earth can be only *one*—and that that *one* can be none but God alone. Two kings cannot rule over one land, and just so two gods cannot rule the universe. If they both wished to do something, their powers would come into collision in doing it; if their wills differed, they would mutually hinder one another. It may not be unprofitable to observe, that the same line of argument is adopted in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Bk. XII *ad finem*.

"The heart's a glass, if broken, how repair the ill!
It is no earthen cup to be cracked and patched at will."

After some days they sent him from Biyánah by order of the Khán Khánán, on a pilgrimage to the sacred Mekka: and he was still in Gujrát, when the decline of the Khán Khánán's[1] power began. Then he returned, and came to pay his homage to the Emperor, and having obtained the name of Násir-ul-mulk, he was appointed to go in pursuit of the Khán Khánán, as shall be recorded in its proper place[2] if God (He is exalted!) will. (P. 29) And the office of vicegerent of the Khán Khánán was transferred from Pír Muhammad Khán to Hájí Muḥammad Khán Sístání, who was also one of the Khán's followers. And the following line is applicable to this occurrence:—

"The dog sits down in the sausage-seller's place."[3]

And Shaikh Gadá-í Kamboh, son of Jamál Kambo-í (a poet of Dihlí, who after the second defeat in India during the time of the exile at Gujrát had come to the Khán Khánán) through the influence of the latter, they put over the heads of all the magnates of Hindústán and Khurásán, and appointed him to the high office of Çadr.[4] And the Khán Khánán, nay even the Emperor himself, was often present at his house at singing parties, where the most abject flattery rained down on all sides, and which became a regular hypocrisy-shop. And,—since, from the time of the establishment of Islám in Hindústán, God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majesty!) has created the great Shaikhs of this country, just the opposite[5] in nature to the secular princes, *viz.*, always peasant-

[1] In the Text, for *Khánán* read *Khán Khánán*, as it is in 35, line 8.

[2] Page 39 of Text.

[3] Cf. Roebuck, *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 273.

[4] There was in each district an officer called *Çadr*, whose business it was to see that the objects of all grants made by the crown *(auqáf)* for maintaining the *imáms* &c. were carried into effect. See Elphinstone's *India*, Bk. VIII chap. II. The *Qází* and *Mír 'Adl* were under his orders, and he had a clerk called the *Díván-i Sa'ádat*. Blochmann *Á'ín-i-Akbarí*, 268. Compare also p. 52 of our Text.

[5] Here *bakhiláf* "in contrary distinction to" is put after its case, as *khiláf az* "except" in Ḥáfiz, Calcutta Ed. p. 91*b*, 3 lines from the bottom:—

"níst dar dá-irah *yak naqṭa khiláf az* kam-u-bésh"

"There is not in the circle anything more or less, except a single dot."

natured, servile in disposition, and low-minded, and since their pomp and glory has never consisted in smiting with the sword, but in flattering others, in spiritual hypocrisy, and ignominy, and the garb of dignity and honour has ever been too strait for the stature of their ambition—the chief Imáms, at this exaltation of Shaikh Gadá-í, about the eminence[1] of whose family they had stories, went mourning from house to house, and so the Arabic Proverb "The death of the great has exalted me" became verified :—

"At my rival's insolence I'm mightily surprised,
O may that beggar Gadá-í[2] ne'er be highly prized."

And he drew the pen of obliteration through the grants of land and pensions[3] of the old servants of the crown [*Afgháns*, Blochm.], and to every one who bore the disgrace of coming to his levees he gave a *sayúrghál*,[4] but not unless. But still, compared with this [niggard] age, in which demurs are made to the giving of a single acre of land (P. 30), or even less, as *madad i ma'ásh*, one might call Shaikh Gadá-í a very "world-giver."[5] Then the princes and nobles of the kingdom, as many as came, flew into a rage at the advancement, honour, and unseasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadá-í, and some of them consoled themselves with these words :—

When a fool is exalted through riches,
In the assembly, above the wise and excellent,
He is still the last in all good qualities,
As though the accusative were to prevent the nominative.

If an Emperor sit humbled,
It is neither disgrace to him, nor praise to you.
Dost thou not see that the Sura *Ikhláç*
Comes after "May the hands of Abu Lahab perish?"[6]

[1] Said ironically.

[2] *Gadá* means a beggar.

[3] *Auqat* is a misprint for *auqáf*.

[4] The Chagatái word *sayúrgál* is translated by the Pers. *madad i ma'ásh*, *i. e.*, "assistance of livelihood." They were lands given for benovolent purposes, and were *hereditary*, thus differing from *jágír* or *tuyúl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time. Blochm. 270.

[5] Cf. p. 71, l. 7 of Text.

[6] That is in the Qor'án the glorious Sura 112, on the nature of God, comes after Sura 111, which speaks of Muhammad's unbelieving uncle Abu Lahab.

And Mír Sayyid Ni'mat Rusúlí, who has been mentioned, repeated the distich, and made it well known in mosques and monastries. And in the mosque, and in Shaikh Gadá-í's own tribunal they wrote up his disgraceful deeds, until he came to read them and had them erased. Still it was no good: and this is one of the lampoons:—

"Mention not Gadá-í's name, eat not his bread
Since *beggary*[1] is bad, Gadá-í's face is black."

And some instances of his insincerity, and stupidity, and evil goings-on with respect to the servants of the Emperor were exposed, which will be mentioned in their proper place. And in these days the king studied under that paragon of greatness Mír 'Abd-ul-Latíf, who is one of the great Sayfí-Sayyids[2] of Qazwín, and who came from the country of 'Iráq to India in the year 963, and with him he began reading the Díwán[3] of "mystic language." And 'Abd-ul-Latíf's able son (an Amír endowed with excellent qualities, and commendable dispositions, in whom is reflected the truth of the Arabic proverb: "A well-bred son takes after his noble parents," whose name is Mír Ghiyás-ud-dín, and surname Naqíb Khán, a very miracle of knowledge in manners and customs, chronology, biography, and all subjects of conversation, one of the wonders of the day, and a blessing of the blessings of the age, a second Preserved Tablet,[4] and who bears to myself, the writer of these pages, the relation of co-temporary, fellow-student (P. 31) and co-religionist, is at present in attendance on His Majesty, giving all his attention to reading history, and all books of verse and prose, both day and night.

And in the year 966 the capture of the fort of Gwályár took

[1] Punning on the meaning of the word *Gadá-í* (see preceding page).

[2] They were known "in Írán for their Sunní tendencies" Blochmann *Á'íni Akbarí*, p. 447. They were, consequently, especially esteemed by our Author.

[3] Probably the *Díván-i Ḥáfiz*, for Blochmann says "at that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some Odes of Háfiz." *Á'íni Akbarí*, 448.

[4] *Louḥ-i maḥfúz*, the Indelible Tablet on which, according to Mahometan belief, the transactions of mankind have been written by God from all eternity. It is referred to in Qor'án vi, 38. The sixth great article of faith with a Moslem is God's absolute predestination of both good and evil.

place. A *ghulám* of 'Adalí,[1] Buhail[2] Khán by name, who was beseiged therein, sued for quarter and gave up the keys. The date will be found contained in the words *Fatḥ-i báb-í kil'ah-e Gwályár*, "The opening of the gate of the fortress of Gwályár." And in this same year Sangrám[3] Khán, also a *ghulám* of [the late] 'Adalí, sold the fortress of Rantambhor into the hand of Rái Surjan Hádá. The facts of the case are as follows. Before the Emperor made the city of Ágra the goal of his prosperous journey, he had appointed some of the Amírs, such as Hindú Bég Moghúl, &c., to reduce the fort of Rantambhor. They beseiged Sangrám Khán and ravaged the environs of the fortress, and the surrounding district, but were unsuccessful in their main object. But when Biyánah was given as a fief to Ḥabíb 'Alí Khán, one of the followers of the Khán Khánán, and Basáwar, and Todah[4] Tark 'Alí, which is better known as Todah Bihyún, were given to Chaghatáí Khán, then Ḥabíb 'Alí Khán was honoured with the command of the army, and, superseding the Amírs of the surrounding district, was appointed to undertake the seige. When he had beseiged the place for the space of one year, and reduced the garrison to great straits, Sangrám Khán made proposals of peace, and sending a messenger of entreaty with a view to acting upon the Khán's feelings, asked for special conditions for his own personal advantage. The Kháns chose my father, and that pilgrim to the two sacred precincts, Hájí Bhikan Basáwarí, and sent them to arrange this important matter. After much altercation Sangrám Khán agreed to surrender the fortress on certain conditions, among which was one that he should receive part-compensation in the shape of ready-money, goods, and the most valuable of the furniture (P. 32) of his own house. But when the Amírs, since they had not the money to pay down, practised delay and procrastination in the matter, and moreover there was some idea of after all taking

[1] On the death of Islám Sháh (A. H. 960) Muhammad Sháh Súr 'Ádil, commonly known as *'Adalí*, had usurped the throne.

[2] Elliot's MS. of Táríkh-i-Alfí has *Babhal*, Abul Fazl says *Sohail*. 'Adalí had given the command of Gwályár to this *ghulám*.

[3] Called Hájí Khán in the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Elliot, V, 260.

[4] About 10 cosses S. W. of Rantambhor.

the fortress by assault, then[1] Sangrám Khán gave up the fortress to Rái Surjan,[2] and got all he wanted from him: and this unfortunate army after so many years of effort got no thanks. Then Sangrám Khán in company with Hájjí Khán Alwarí went to Gujrát. And Rái Surjan strengthened the fort with the stores of provisions and arms. Thus by means of riches and address he became master of some also of the *pargannas* in the vicinity of the fortress. Then Ḥabíb 'Alí Khán and the Amírs, after spending some time in ravaging the country, separated and returned to their fiefs.

In this year Jamál Khán, a *ghulám* of [the late] 'Adalí, who had become possessed of Chunár, sent a representative to court, to intimate that if they could send a man fitted to be trusted with the affair he would surrender to him the fortress, on which the Khán Khánán sent back, in company with Jamál Khán's representative, Mihr 'Alí Bég Sildúz, (who afterwards attained the rank of Khán, and was made governor of the fortress of Chítor), with a farmán containing friendly terms.

And in those days I left home and, going from Basáwar to Ágra with the intention of pursuing my studies, I made acquaintance with Mihr 'Alí Bég, and remained at his house. And he greatly importuned my late teacher Shaikh Mubárak of Nágór (the mercy of God be upon him!), and my deceased father Shaikh Mulúkshah (may he rest in peace!), to allow me to be his travelling companion, and carried the matter to such a pitch that he declared that he would lay aside the business[3] of his journey, if I could not go with him. And both of these valued persons, whom I have named, in their generous friendship towards me, thinking it best for me to go, would take no refusal. So I, to gratify my teacher, although it was the height of the rainy[4] season, and I was an inexperienced traveller, abandoning my studies, mounted the dangers of the jour-

[1] The apodosis is introduced by *wa* "and" as by τε in Herod. i, 116 ἐπεὶ δὲ ..... αὐτὸν εἵρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης ..... ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι.

[2] The Ṭabaqát-i Akbari says that he was a relation of Rái Udí Singh, who is mentioned on p. 51 of our Text.

[3] *Viz.*, of making terms with Jamál Khán for the surrender of Chunár.

[4] *Bashakál* for *Barshakál*.

ney. And passing through Kanouj,[1] Lak'hnou, (P. 33), Jounpúr, and Benáres, having seen the wonders of the world, and having been in the company of some of the great Shaikhs and Doctors of that part of the country, after crossing the river Ganges I came to Chunár in a month Zí-l-qa'dah[2] in the year nine hundred and sixty-six (966). Jamál Khán sent some of his people to meet Mihr 'Alí, and bring him to his house. There he received him with fitting hospitality and shewed him the palaces of Shér Sháh and Salím Sháh, and all the defensive munitions of the fort. But when the farmán of conciliation, containing a grant of five pargannas in the neighbourhood of Jounpúr in exchange for the fortress of Chunár, was read, Jamál Khán showed that he had further expectations, and proposing the most impossible terms endeavoured to detain Mihr 'Alí in inactivity until an answer to his representation should arrive from the court. Meanwhile he artfully held communication both with Khán Zamán[3] and Fatḥ Khán Afghán Tabní (?)[4] who with all his force was at the fortress of Rohtás, holding out to them separately promises of the fortress. Then Mihr 'Alí, when he became aware of the treachery and perfidy of Jamál Khán, and when also a suspicion as to Fatḥ Khán's fidelity found way into his mind, fearing lest they should league together for his injury, left the fort unattended, on the pretext of taking exercise. So leaving me in the fortress, he crossed the Ganges in the greatest perturbation. Then insinuating myself into Jamál Khán's good graces, and promising him to bring back Mihr 'Alí, and restore peace and quiet, in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It happened that my boat fell into a terrible whirlpool at the foot of the hill which adjoins the wall of the fortress, and a dreadful hurricane arose, which made the boat shake in every timber, and if the mercy of the Creator of land and sea had not been my shelter,[5]

[1] Kanyákubja or Canouj is one of the most ancient places in India. See Elphinstone, p. 233.

[2] The 11th month.

[3] He was at Jounpúr. See p. 17.

[4] The reading is here doubtful.

[5] The word *bádbání* in Pers. means "a sail", but in this Indo-Persian it is probably used with some reference to its meaning in Hindústání which is given by Shakespeare as "a shade to protect a candle from the wind."

the bark of my (P. 34) hope in that whirlpool of calamity would have been dashed to atoms on the hill to death :—

"I came into a sea whose waves were man-devouring,
No boat in that sea, no sailor, it is wonderful!"

And in the jungle at the foot of the Chunár hill I came to the dwelling and abode of Shaikh Muhammad Ghous, one of the great Shaikhs of India, and a man of prayer. One of his followers met me, and showed me a cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years as a hermit, subsisting on the leaves, and fruit of the desert trees. So celebrated had he become for the fulfilment of his blessings, that even powerful and absolute monarchs used to bow the head of sincerity and courtesy in his honour.

After that Mihr 'Alí returned to Ágra, Fatú a *ghulám* of 'Adalí got into his possession the fortress of Chunár.

In 966 A. H. the aforenamed Shaikh with disciples and followers arrived with state and pomp at Ágra, coming from Gujrát. The Emperor received him with frank confidence. But his arrival was displeasing to Shaikh Gadá-í who on account of jealousy, hypocrisy, and envy (which to the saints of Hindustán, in their feelings towards one another, are the very necessaries of life), looked on his arrival as a case of opening a shop in the story above his own shop :—

"The truth of this proverb wisdom will see,
That, 'Two of a trade can never agree.'"[1]

And the Khán Khánán, on account of the influence which Shaikh Gadá-i exercised over his mind, did not receive Shaikh Muhammad in such a friendly manner as he ought to have done. On the contrary he held many preconcerted conversaziones, in which he brought forward the Shaikh to be a butt for the arrows of contumely, by bringing on the *tapis* a treatise of his, in which, describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, he says that in his waking moments he had had an interview and conversation with the Lord of Glory (glorious is His Majesty!), who assigned to him a superiority over the Repository of Prophecy,[2] (may (P. 35) God bless

[1] See Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 61.

[2] Muhammad the Prophet.

him, and his family, and give him peace!), and which contained other such follies equally contemptible and reprehensible both in thought and expression. So the Shaikh much chagrined retired to Gwályár, and occupied himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, contenting himself with a *jágír* which yielded a million sterling[1] !

In this year Bahádur Khán, brother of the Khán Zamán, with the intention of subjugating the country of Málwah,[2] which Báz Bahádur, son of Suzáwal[3] Khán at that time held, had advanced as far as the town of Siprí,[4] when the Khan Khánán's troubles came about, so he turned back, and with the Khán Khánán's leave came, and attached himself to the Court. In the same year Ḥusain Khán came from Andarí to Ágra, and going with some of the gallant Commanders towards Rantambhór performed some brilliant exploits at Súpar,[5] and thence he carried his operations to the castle of Rantambhór, and defeated Rái Surjan in battle and compelled him to shut himself up in that fortress. Against him he acquitted himself well; but on account of the confusion which reigned in the circles of the Khán Khánán, he left his circle of investment incomplete, and went to Gwályár. And when thence he was making for Málwah, the Khán Khánán recalled him to Ágra.

On the 20th of Jumádá-s-sání[6] in the year 967 the Emperor crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition. And some malevolent speakers, who were jealous of the absolute authority which the Khán Khánán enjoyed as the *Vakíl*, and especially Adham Khán (who on account of his being the son of Máhum Atka[7] held the post nearest to his person), and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and others, seized the opportunity of misrepresenting to the Emperor certain words of the Khán Khánán. And in fact the Emperor

[1] A *kror*, or 10 million rupees, or *tankas* (?)

[2] For an epitome of the history of Málwah see Elliot, V. 168.

[3] Called Shuja' Khán Afghán, in the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. He is called Shujáwal by Blochmann, p. 428.

[4] *Sírí*, Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Siprí was about half way on his road.

[5] That is 'Sheopoor,' 120 miles S. W. of Ágra (Elliot).

[6] The 6th month.

[7] See footnote on the page of the Transl. corresponding to p. 52 of the Text, whence it will be seen that she ought to be called *Ankah* or *Anagah*.

himself (because he had not absolute power in his own kingdom, and sometimes (P. 36) had no voice in some of the transactions relating to expenses of the Exchequer, and because there was no privy purse at all, and the servants of the Emperor had but poor fiefs, and were kept in the depths of poverty, while the Khán Khánán's were in ease and luxury) wished that the circle about him should be put on a different footing. But he had no power to accomplish this, until, in accordance with the saying "When God wills a thing, its causes are at hand", circumstances combined to bring about the desired result:—

"When the subject-matter is collected,
Then the act of verse-making is easy."

Close by Sikandrah-rao which is [more than] half-way to Dihlí Máhum Ankah represented to His Highness, that the Queen Dowager, who was at Dihlí, had fallen suddenly ill, and impressed upon him that he ought to direct his course thither. Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán the Governor of Dihlí came to meet the Emperor, and in concert with all the others made mountains of mole-hills, and prejudiced his mind against the Khán Khánán:—

"Thy mole, and tutty-mark, and locks, and brow,
Are all banded together.
For the purpose of killing Mus'úd[1]
She is become an arraigner."

Eventually she made the following representation: "When the Khán Khánán learns that the imperial cavalcade is come to Dihlí at my instigation, he will be sure to wish to avenge himself, and I have no power to resist him, so it is best that I should receive permission to make a pilgrimage to Mekka." The Emperor could not make up his mind to part with Máhum Ankah. So he allayed their terror, and sent to the Khán Khánán the following message: "Since without your leave and approval I have journeyed thus far,[2] all my attendants are in the uttermost terror. It is right, therefore, that you should show yourself amicably inclined towards them, and

[1] *Mus'úd Bakk* a Persian Poet, see Sprenger *Catalogue of MSS. in library of king of Oudh*, p. 486.

[2] Of course this message is somewhat ironical.

so enable them to continue in my service with minds at ease." The Khán Khánán sent Khwájah (P. 37) Amíná,[1] and Hájjí Muhammad Khán of Sístán, and Tarsán Muḥammad Khán, who were the centre and pivot of important affairs, to wait on the Emperor, to make apologies, and assure his Majesty of his continued fidelity, and good will. But these advances did not reach the door of acceptance, and the above-mentioned magnates were not allowed to return. Then Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán and Máhum Ankah, being determined to go through with the matter, spread abroad the news of the Emperor's alienation from the Khán Khánán, so that it reached the utmost publicity. Then the Amírs one after another left Ágra for Dihlí; and the affair is an exact parallel to that of the Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd Moghúl with Amír Chúbán, who was a vazír of almost regal magnificence: an affair which is mentioned in the books of history. And so the well-known [Arabic] proverb was fulfilled "The mystery of the world is like the course of the ass; when it goes forward it *does* go forward, when it goes back it *does* go back:"

When Fortune wishes to come to a slave,
All strangers claim relationship with him.
But when the time of prosperity turns away,
His very door and wall become a sting to him.[2]

Qíyám Khán Kang was the first of the Amírs who arrived at Dihlí. And Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, and Máhum Ankah attached each one, as he came, more and more to the cause of the Emperor by holding out promises of high offices and fiefs: and with the greatest care and vigilance they applied themselves to strengthening the fortifications.

The Khán Khánán, who was at Ágra with all his devoted adherents, called a council. The advice of Shaikh Gadáí, with several others, was this, that before the balance of fortune should have turned against him he should set out, and get the Emperor into his power, so as to prevent his being accessible to the Khán's detractors. The Khán Khánán did not approve this advice, saying "Since the heart of the Emperor is alienated from me, any further friendly

[1] Comp. p. 20.

[2] *I. e.*, his own house turns against him.

intercourse in public is out of the question (P. 38), but how could I possibly assume any other guise! for, after spending a lifetime in loyalty to his person, in my old age to put a dishonourable stain on the forehead of my fortune were to cause me an eternal disgrace." Now he had always had a desire to make a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medína, so he got things ready for his journey to Ḥijáz,[1] and set off for Biyánah, intending to go by way of Nágór. He told his intention to all his supporters, and gave them leave to go to the court. And Bahádur Khán, who had been sent for from Málwah,[2] he allowed to go as their companion. He then released Muḥammad Amín Díwánah[3] from the prison in the fortress of Biyánah, and departed :—

"There is no permanence in any prosperity,
However much you may have tried it :
For lo ! '*Prosperity*'[4] read backwards is '*transient*',[4]
Read it and see for yourself."

And those, who had the Emperor's ear, represented to him, that the Khán Khánán intended to go to the Panjáb. So the Emperor sent from Dihlí a message by the hand of Mír 'Abd-ul-Laṭíf Qazwíní, saying : "Our intention in coming[5] to Dihlí was simply, to transact some important State affair on our own absolute authority. But since you have long had a desire to retire, and have taken the resolution of going to Ḥijáz, it is just as well that you should do so. And now you shall have as many pargannahs in Hindústán as you please, and your agents shall forward the revenues of them to any place at which you may happen to be staying." When the

[1] Ḥijáz = Arabia petræa (Mekka and its territory in particular).
Najad = „ deserta.
Yemen = „ felix.

[2] See p. 29.

[3] And also Sháh Abul Ma'álí *(Akbar-náma)*, who was imprisoned there, see p. 4.

[4] The letters of the first word (اقبال) read backwards give (لابقا) the second.

[5] This reminds one of the message of Richard II to his uncles, "I left London, not through any hostility to you, but to resume my power."

Khán Khánán heard the will of the Emperor, he went from Méwát to Nágór; and, with the exceptions of Walí Bég Zu-'l Qadr, and Ḥusain Qulí Khán (who became Khán Jahán),[1] and Ismá'íl Qulí Khán his brother, and Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Ḥusain Khán a relative of Mahdí Qásim Ḳhán, none remained with him. From Nágór he sent to the Court by the hand of Ḥusain Qulí Khán his paraphernalia of pomp, consisting of such kettle-drums and standards as he possessed. Also Shaikh Gadáí (P. 39), at last on the confines of Bíkánír, chose too to separate himself, and the hidden meaning of the following became manifest :—

"Every brother must part from his brother
(By thy father's life !) except the two stars *Al-Farqadáni*."

The Emperor, on his way from Dihlí to the Panjáb, had reached the town of Jhujhar, when these insignia of power were brought to him, and their surrender pleased him much. At this halting place Sháh 'Abú-l-ma'álí, who had come to pay his respects to the Emperor, wished, in the madness of his brain, to overtake[2] his majesty on horseback. The Emperor had him arrested and given in charge of Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán. And at the same stage Pír Muḥammad Khán Shírwání, who was awaiting the proper season [for the pilgrimage] at Gujrát, having received information of the confusion of affairs, and of the causes of the Khán Khánán's dismissal, set off at once to the Emperor and did him homage, and received the title of Náçir-i-mulk. When he had received the insignia and standards of Khán-hood, he was appointed by the Emperor to go after the Khán Khánán, and pack him off as quickly as possible to Mekka without giving him any time for delay. He started off quickly enough, but remained at his leasure at Nágór, and after a few days' journey wrote a letter to the Khán Khánán as follows :—

"I came, in the heart the foundations of love were firm likewise,
My sorrow-laden soul is of sorrow-for-thee the companion likewise."

The Khán Khánán wrote in answer: "Your coming was manly, but your delay, after having come near, is cowardly."

[1] A title in reputation next to that of *Khán Khánán*. Blochm. 330.

[2] So too the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Firishta says that he wished to remain mounted while saluting the Emperor. *Elliot*.

The Emperor, when he had returned to Dihlí, sent for Mun'im Khán from Kábul, in order to invest him with the office of Prime-minister (*Vakíl*).[1]

The Khán Khánán went from Nágór to Bíkánír with the intention of keeping an eye on the proceedings of Máldeo Rája of Jodhpúr, who with a considerable force had made himself master of the road to Gujrát[2]. But being very much annoyed, when he became aware of Pír Muḥammad Khán's pursuit of him, he became desperate, and at the instigation of some demon-like men turned to the Panjáb. His people, family, and effects, together with his lawful heir Mírzá Abd-ur-raḥím, (who (P. 40) was then but three years of age, but now holds the post of Khán Khánán, and Commander-in-Chief), he put for security into the fortress of Tabarkindh,[3] which was a fief of Shér Muḥammad Díwánah, the reputed son of the Khán Khánán. But news came to the Khán Khánán, whilst at Dípálpúr, that the said Díwánah had seized those effects and was behaving most treacherously to his adherents. Upon this he sent to Díwánah one Khwájah Muzaffar 'Alí Díwánah, (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khán), and Derwísh Muḥammad Uzbek with sage and soothing words, [thinking] that "may be when he has repented of his base conduct, he will return to rectitude." But a dog had bitten Díwánah :—

"O wise men stand on one side,
For *Díwánah*[4] is intoxicated."

Shér Muḥammad sent Khwájah Muzaffar a prisoner to the Court, and this blow caused the Khán Khánán more despair than all the rest besides, so that starting from where he was, he set off for Jálandhar. Then Shams-ud-dín Atkah Khán, and his son Yúsuf Muḥammad Khán, and Ḥusain Khán the relative of Shaháb Khán, and all the Amírs of the Panjáb assembled in accordance with a farmán, and in the confines of the parganna of Dik'hdár,[5] at a spot

[1] When he received the title of Khán Khánán. See p. 38.
[2] With the intention of attacking him. *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí.*
[3] I. e., *Sirhind*, Elliot V, 265.
[4] *Díwánah* means 'possessed', 'mad'.
[5] In the vicinity of Jálandhar, between the Sutlej and the Biyah, *Akbar-náma.*

called Kanúr Phillour,[1] hemmed in the Khán Khánán. There a severe contest took place, in which Ḥusain Khán the relative of Mahdí Qásim Khán distinguished himself; but unfortunately a sword-blow struck him in the eye so that one might say of him that he was "eye stricken."[2] He fell from his seat in the saddle, and being made prisoner was sent to the Court together with Walí Bég, and his son Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and several others of the chiefs; as will soon be mentioned, if God (He is exalted!) will. After that blow the Khán Khánán fled, and immense spoil fell into the hands of Atkah Khán and his army. Among these things was a standard worked with pearls and gems, which (P. 41) the Khán Khánán had had made, and intended to have sent to the most holy sepulchre[3] (may mercy and favour rest on its inhabitant!). Of this Imám my lord Moulawí Jámí (may his tomb be hallowed!) wrote those laudatory and descriptive couplets:—

"Peace on the family of *Ṭá Há*[4] and *Yá Sín!*
Peace on the family of the Best of the Prophets!
Peace on the Shrine, wherein there rests.
An Imám, in whom sovereignty and religion are preeminent!"
"An Imám, yea in sooth an absolute monarch,
For the sanctuary of his door is become the *Qiblah* of kings.
King of the palace of Knowledge, Rose of the garden of Bounty,
Moon of the mansion of Majesty, the Pearl of the casket of Contingency.
[Peace] on Ibn Musá Rizá, to whom from God
Is the name *Rizá*,[5] because doing *God's will* was his habit."

[1] See Elliot V, p. 266, VIII, p. 107; Blochmann, p. 317.

[2] A pun. The Persian compound means "stricken by the evil eye," but grammatically it might also mean "stricken in the eye."

[3] Of Imám Rizá, at Ṭús in Khurásán. Belfour's *Translation of Ali Hazin*, 128.

[4] Ṭá-Há (which is the title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'án, and is composed of two letters of the Arabic alphabet) is considered, and often used, as a name of the Arabian Prophet (of whom Muṣṭafá and Aḥmad, as well as Moḥammad, are also names): so likewise is Yá-Sín, which is the title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'án. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ed. Poole, London, 1871, vol. ii, p. 139.

[5] *Rizá* means "Will."

They say that the banner cost nearly a *kror* of gold. And Qásim Arsalán found the date of the event in the words, "*'alam-i imám-i hashtum*,[1] "banner of the 8th Imám"[2]. Atkah Khán sent it with the rest of the spoils to the Court, and it was put into the imperial treasury. One of the remarkable incidents of this year was that the Khán Khánán published as his own[3] a *ghazal* of Háshim Qandahárí, putting the lines into a different arrangement[4]; he ordered 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Háshim by way of an extempore joke said "Sixty is too little." upon which he increased the sum by 40,000 and gave him altogether a complete *lac*. From it you would infer that the Khán Khánán's star was setting, and as a matter of fact his power at this period was on the decline. The *ghazal* is as follows, of which the *Maṭla'*[5] is Háshim's:—

"What am I? one who has let go the rein of his heart;
Who by the hand of his heart has fallen from his feet upon the road of trouble;
Who is become like a madman in the skirts of the mountains;
Who has without will of his own turned his head to the desert;
At one time like a candle seized by the fire of his heart,
At another like a wick fallen into the heart of the fire.
I, Bairam, am free from care for little or much,
Never have I uttered a single word *less* or *more*."

[1] 70 + 30 + 40 + 82 + 45 + 700 = 967.

[2] The *Shí'ah* (lit. followers) are the followers of 'Alí, the husband of Fáṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad. They maintain that 'Alí was the first legitimate *Khalífah* (successor to Muḥammad), and therefore reject Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmán, the first three Khalíf-s, as usurpers. According to the *Shí'ah* the Muslim religion consists of a knowledge of the true *Imám*. The twelve *Imáms*, according to the *Shí'ah* are as follows;

(1) Ḥazrat Ali, (2) Imám Ḥassan, (3) Imám Ḥusain (4) Zain-ul-Abidín, (5) Imám Muḥammad Báqir, (6) Jáfir Sádiq, (7) Musá Qásim, (8) *'Alí Musá Rizá*, (9) Muḥammad Taqí, (10) Muḥammad Naqí, (11) Ḥassan Askarí (12) Abu Qásim. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 170.

[3] Cf. Martial. ii, 20. "Carmina Paullus emit; recitat sua carmina Paullus,
Nam quod emas possis dicere jure tuum."

[4] اولجھ is probably the Hindustani *ulajh*, 'confusion,' cf. p. 51, l. 5, text.

[5] The two initial hemistichs are called the *Maṭla'*.

(P. 42). This *maṭla'* also is one of Háshim's :—

"Thy lip was smiling on account of the weeping eye that I have,
Thy heart was contented on account of the distracted state I am in."

And in the same way the Khán Khánán, although he had nothing in his treasury, gave at one sitting a *lac* of *tankahs* worth in money and goods to Rám Dás of Lak'hnou, who was one of the musicians[1] of Aslím Sháh, and one that in music[2] and song you might term a second Miyán Tán Sín. This man used to be the Khán Khánán's companion and intimate associate, and by the beauty of his voice continually brought tears to his eyes. There was likewise a certain Ḥijáz Khán Badáúní, who formerly was among the number of the Amírs of the Afgháns, and had a standard and a kettle-drum, and a pennon, and afterwards towards the end of his life retired from military affairs, and in the enjoyment of a very trifling pension pursued rectitude in the path of asceticism and devotion. To him in return for a *Qaçídah*, which in the *Maqṭa'*[3] he dedicated to the Khán, he gave a *lac* of *tankahs*, and made him Superintendent of the Government of Sirhind, and caused him to be appointed to that province. The *Maṭla'* of the Qaçídah is as follows :—

"When the seal of the ring of the heavens
Went down into the water,
The view of its signet gave
A ruby-tinge to the ground."

And so that saying of Khwájah Kalán Bég came true, *viz.*, "*Heaven above*[4] is of course a good judge of poetry!" The sum of the whole matter is that 100,000 were to the liberal mind of the Khán as *one*. How different indeed to these base ones, who now have come to the surface of the water :—

"If the odour of fidelity thou perceivest from any one,
His foot thou shouldest kiss much more than that of kings."

[1] The word *kalávant* is the Sanskrit *kalávat* a musician.

[2] *Vádí* is the Sanskrit *vádya* music.

[3] The two concluding hemistichs are called the *Maqṭa'*. A *ghazal* is an Ode. A *Qaçídah* resembles the *Idyllium* of the Greeks.

[4] That is, those in power are sure to appreciate your doggerel, if only you flatter them enough in it.

(P. 43). In the month Zî-'l-qa'dah[1] of this year, after the appointment of Atkah Khán to march to the Panjáb, the Emperor appointed Khwájah 'Abd-ul-Majíd of Harát, with the title of Áçaf Khán, to the Government of Dihlí. And then as it was the best thing to do, since Ḥusain Khán's father Walí[2] Beg and his brother Ismá'íl Qulí Khán were with the Khán Khánán, he delivered Ḥusain Khán[2] to Áçaf Khán's keeping, and himself went to the Panjáb.

Mun'im Khán, in accordance with orders, having come from Kábul to the halting-place of Ludhiyánah,[3] in company with Muqím Khán sister's son to Tardí Bég Khán (who afterwards became Shujá'at Khán), waited on the king. He received the title of Khán Khánán and was raised to the office of Prime-minister. And the state of the public exchequer he laid bare. To this same halting-place came the news of the victory of Atkah Khán and the flight of the Khán Khánán towards the mountains of Siwálik. The captives were brought into the Emperor's presence, and he had them imprisoned. One of them, Walí Bég, who had received mortal wounds, went from a [temporal] to an eternal prison, and they sent his head to Dihlí. Ḥusain Khán was committed to the charge of his wife's brother Malik Muḥammad Khán son of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and the Emperor eventually took him into favour, and appointed to him as his fief Pátyálí, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and the place of the birth and growth of ['A]mír[4] Khusrou (mercy be upon him !)

After his defeat the Khán Khánán retired to Talwárah and shut himself up there. This is a very strong and almost inaccessible place in the mountains of Kushmál,[5] on the banks of the river Biyáh, the government of which belonged to Rája Gobind Chand. The forces of the

[1] The 11th month.

[2] See page 33.

[3] The Ṭabaqát-i Akbari says it was *Jálandhar*.

[4] Amír Khusrú, the very Prince of Súfi poets (or king as his poetical title of *Khusrú* implies), was of Tátar origin. His father Amír Seifuddin came to Hindustán, and settled at *Pátiáli* near Dihlí, where he married the daughter of Amád ul Mulk. His son Amír Khusrú was born A. H. 651, A. D. 1253. Ouseley's *Persian Poets* p. 146.

[5] Abu-l-Fazl says *Siwálik*. Elliot.

king drew near and joined battle. And Sulṭán Ḥusain Jaláír, a youth of great beauty, symmetry of form and bravery, fell in that battle. When they brought his head to the Khán Khánán, offering him congratulations, he calling to mind the youth's devotion to himself in times gone by, covered his face with a veil and wept aloud, (P. 44) saying: "A hundred reproaches on this life of mine! For through the misfortune of my soul so many youths are lost." Although the Hindús of that place supported the Khán Khánán, fellow-feeling with the Moslem religion seized his skirt, so that turning his thoughts to the world to come, and purifying himself in the path of religion, he with a view to obtaining forgiveness for his shortcomings, sent without delay, and with the greatest humility, a message by the hand of Jamál Khán, a *ghulám*, craving an audience with the Emperor. Then Mullá 'Abd-ulláh of Sulṭánpúr, whose title was Makhdúm-ul-mulk, set off with the intention of acceding to his request. But the armies still remained in the same position, and the coming and going of messengers continued, until Mun'im Khán, with a handful of intrepid men, came up and seized the Khán Khánán's person and brought him back. And all the Amírs, in accordance with orders, went to meet him, and all honour and respect, just as in former times, having been paid to him, he received a free pardon, moreover a special dress of honour and a horse were given to him Then Mun'im Khán brought him to his own abode, and put all his tents and appliances at his service. And two days afterwards he received permission to proceed to Mekka with such an allowance for travelling expenses as beseemed his rank. And the Amírs and courtiers, both small and great, gave him every proper assistance in the shape of money, and that kind of stores which the Turks call *Chandogh*, and the Emperor having appointed Hájjí Muḥammad Khán Sístání as the Khán's escort, himself went for recreation and hunting towards the castle of Firúzah, going by way of Dihlí; and on the fourth of Rabi'-ul-awwal[1] in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) he made his glorious *entrée* into Dihlí. And on the 12th of Rabi'-us-sání he arrived at Ágra, the metropolis, by water.

[1] The 3rd month.

Now they say that the Khán Khánán going with his retinue to Gujrát by way of Nágór, passed through a jungle which abounded in the prickly acacia, (P. 45) and the corner of his turban was caught in a thorn and fell from his head. And, whereas such an event is usually considered a bad omen, in theKhán Khánán's case it was turned to quite the reverse,[1] for Hájí Muḥammad Khán aptly quoted the following [couplet from Háfiz] :—

"When in the desert through desire for the *Ka'bah*[2] thou dost set thy foot,
If the thorn of the acacia hit thy head do not grieve."

And so the Khán's gloom was turned to cheerfulness :—

"By speech knots are untied,
By speech the rust of the heart is polished off:
Many a knot which comes into our affairs from destiny,
To open which seems difficult,
Suddenly, by a graceful turn of language,
That business is converted into facility."

When he arrived at Patan in Gujrát, Musá Khán Fuládí, governor of Patan, and Hájjí Khán of Alwar, received him with the greatest respect, and gave themselves up to the necessary duties of hospitality. One day the Khán Khánán was taking a trip on the lake, called Sahnas Lang,[3] where one named Mubárak Khán Afghán, (he belied his name!), whose father the Khán Khánán at the beginning of the conquest of Hindústan had ordered to be put to death, being resolved on vengeance, at the hour of evening prayer, when the Khán Khánán was getting out of the boat, came with a lot of ruffians, on the pretence of meeting him, and with one blow of his gleaming dagger made him drink the draught of martyrdom. And the date was found as follows :—

[1] Compare the case of William the Conqueror's falling down on landing in England.

[2] The *Ka'bah* (cube) is the square stone building in the mosque (called *Musjid ul Ḥarám*, 'sacred mosque,' or *Bait-ulláh* 'house of God') at Mecca, which contains the Black Stone *(Ḥajr ul aswad)*, round which the act of encompassing *(Ṭawáf)* is performed at the Pilgrimage *(Ḥajj.)*.

[3] *Sahasnak* (Ṭabaqát i Akbarí).

"When Bairam put on the *Iḥrám*[1] in order to encompass the *Ka'bah*,
On the road he became a martyr[2], not having obtained his desire.
Of my heart I asked the date of his martyrdom,
It said: *Muḥammad Bairám is become a martyr*[3] ;"

And the humble author of this history discovered an enigma (P. 46)
"He said, 'The rose is gone from the garden of beauty.'[4] "

Fragment.

"From the bowl of Fortune, who has ever drunk a draught,
To whom its drink has not been more deadly than poison?
How should the world make thee secure from vicissitudes,
When itself is not secure from vicissitudes?
Heaven is a thief breaking into the tent of life,
Alas! its form is not bending for naught!
Seek not repose, since for any one beneath the sky,
The means for attaining this has never been collected.
Only look at the blue[5] garment of the sky, and learn,
That this sphere can be nothing but a house of mourning.
Put up with wounding, for to us from Fate
Wounds have become our portion, but not the antidote.
O Kháqání, listen not to the deceptions of the world,
For its own laws are not secured from revolution."

The Khán Khánán always had a sympathetic heart, and was devoted to the words of the great Shaikhs (God be favourable unto them!), and in his noble company the talk was ever of the Word of God, and the Word of the Prophet. One day he went to Síkrá to see a certain ascetic Dervish, and asked the meaning of this verse of the Qur'án, [iii 25] : "Thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou

[1] The pilgrim-dress.

[2] To die on the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the twenty-one ways of becoming a martyr *(Shahíd)*. See Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islám*, 71, 72.

[3] The sum of the numerical values of the letters of *Shahíd shud Muḥammad Bairám* is 968.

[4] *Gulshan-i-Khúbí* "garden of beauty" =1018 ; take away *Gul* "rose" = 50, and the difference is 968.

[5] *Blue* is looked on as a presage of evil.

humblest whom thou wilt." And, since the Dervish had not read a commentary, he gave no answer. Then the Khán Khánán himself said, "Thou exaltest whom thou wilt", namely by means of contentment, "thou humblest whom thou wilt", by continued craving.[1] Moreover Friday's prayers and attendance at the (P. 47) mosque were never neglected by him. He was, however, somewhat touchy on the subject of precedence, as Muḥammad Amín Khatíb once said to the writer, "With regard to the titles of his Highness, you will do well to give him ever so many more than to other people."

And in the same year Miyán Ḥátim Sambhalí passed from the world, and a blow fell on religion for [says the Arabic proverb] "The death of the learned is a fissure in religion." And they found the date in the words,[2] "He is with the mighty King."

On the 12th of Rajab-ul-murajjab[3] in this year Báz Bahádur, son of Sajáwal Khán[4], governor of Málwah, advanced with elephants and numerous followers within 7 *cosses* of Sárangpúr[5] to oppose Adham Khán, Pír Muḥammad Khán, and the other renowned Amírs. He gave battle and was defeated, and his retinue, and servants, and wives, were all taken prisoners. On the day of the victory, the two captains remained on the spot, and had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river; and Pír Muḥammad Khán, with a smile on his face, said in jest "what a plague of a strong neck this victim has, and what a power of blood has poured from it!". And as for God's creation, (which is only another term for *mankind*), with my own eye was it seen, that in his sight it was valued but as radishes,[6] and cucumbers, and leeks. When I, without any prejudice against either side, came to that army and saw the terror, like that

[1] 'A contented mind is a continual feast,' and so the contented man is always exalted. On the other hand the discontented man is always asking for more, and always considers himself ill-used.

[2] The words "'inda malík-*in* muqtadir" give the date 968.

[3] The 7th month of the Muḥammedan year.

[4] *I. e.* Sajáwal Khán Súr; see Blochm., 428.

[5] In Málwah.

[6] In Zia-al-Barni, p. 469, l. 15 (cf. p. 497, l. 11) *zakhm-i turub* "smiting of radishes" is used for "cutting off the head."

of the Judgment-day, I said to my friend Mihr 'Alí Khán Bég Sildoz[1], "Though the rebels have met with their deserts, yet it is not at all in accordance with the Sacred Law to kill and imprison their wives and children." Then he, on account of the pain offered to his religious feelings and conscience, spoke to Pír Muḥammad Khán to the same effect. He replied "In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them!" And the same night these plundering[2] marauders, having stowed away their Muḥammadan captives, consisting of the wives of Shaikhs, and Sayyids, and learned men, and nobles, in their boxes and saddle-bags, brought them to (P. 48) Ujjain[3] and other districts. And the Sayyids, and Shaikhs of that place came out to meet him with their Qur'áns in their hands, but Pír Muḥammad Khán put them all to death, and burnt them:—

"Having torn off the binding of the Qur'án,
And made its leather into a kettledrum,
It is very clear from this, that he is
An enemy of the Prophet."

All that had been the talk, with respect to the cruelty, insolence, and severity of Pír Muḥammad Khán was shown to be only too true. And that, which former generations have said, was verified, viz., *He who seeks learning in scholastic theology, is an infidel: and the Doctors of scholastic theology are infidels, to whatever sect they belong; we flee to God for refuge—from a knowledge which doth not profit, from prayer that is not heard, from a heart that is not humble, and a belly that is not satisfied.* Adham Khán sent the whole account of the victory to the Court, with some elephants under the escort of Çádik Muḥammad Khán. But most of the elephants, and of the ladies of the ḥaram, and the dancing-girls, and nautch-girls, belonging to Báz Bahádur, and all his precious things he kept for himself. On this account the Emperor on the

[1] *Sildoz* is the name of a Chaghtái clan.

[2] *Quzáq*, whence the word *Cossack*.

[3] The name in Sanskrit is Ujjayiní, *i. e.*, "victorious": *cf.* Νικόπολις; and Alqáhirah "the victorious", *i. e.*, Cairo the metropolis of Egypt.

1st of Sha'bán[1] in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) set out from Ágra, and came to Sárangpúr, and having taken possession of the spoil, and arranged the affairs of that state, on the 29th of Ramzán[2] he came back to the foot of the throne.[3]

In this year the Khán Zamán[4], with the help of Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál, and Sháhim Khán Jaláír[5], fought against Shér Khán, son of 'Adalí, who had succeeded to his father at Chunhár, and was come to Jounpúr with a considerable force. The Khán Zamán defeated him, and gained a signal victory. This is the second victory that was gained at Jounpúr. (On the 17th of Zî-l-ḥijjah of this year the Emperor came to Ágra.)[6] And towards the end of this year, on account of the suspected insubordination of the Khán Zamán, the Emperor honoured Kaṛah with his presence, passing by way of Kálpí, and (P. 49) accepting the hospitality of 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek the governor of that place. Then the Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán came quickly from Jounpúr with every appearance of good will, and paid their respects to the Emperor, bringing with them elephants, and valuable presents, by way of compliment: then they, being honoured with a gift of horses, and dresses of honour, were dismissed to their fiefs. And *Peace is the best*[7] gives the date of that event, with one unit too much:

> "The Messenger of prosperity in this ancient world
> Uttered the shout that: *Peace is the best.*"

On the 17th of Zî-l-hijjah[8] of this year [A. H, 968], the Emperor returned to Ágra.

[1] The 8th month.

[2] The 9th month entitled *al-mubârak* "the blessed." During this month a fast of the most rigorous kind is enjoined. On the night of the 27th of this month, called *Lail-ul-qadr* "the night of power," the Qur'án began to be revealed.

[3] *I. e.*, returned to Ágra.

[4] *'Alí Qúlí Khán*, see p. 5.

[5] *Jaláír* is the name of a Chaghtái tribe.

[6] This sentence, which is out of place here, is repeated on the next page of the Text, where it is appropriate enough. It occurs in the latter position in the *Ṭabaqât-i-Akbarí*.

[7] These words give: 1 + 30 + 90 + 30 + 8 + 600 + 10 + 200 = 969.

[8] The 12th month.

And in this same year his reverence the Doctor Muláná Sa'íd, the profound Professor of the age, came from Transoxiana; but, on account of want of appreciation on the part of his cotemporaries, he could not remain in Hindústán :—

"Say O Humá,[1] never cast thy glorious shadow on a land
Where the parrot is less esteemed than the kite."

And His Highness[2] the Qázi Abu-l-Ma'álí, the son-in-law of His Highness the Prince[3] of Bukhárá, also, who was a master-builder in legal science, and a second glory of the Imáms, and in the Derwish order was one whose words and direction were followed, and who after paying the 5 customary prayers[4], used to make a practice of reading the Qur'án aloud,[5] came; and the compiler of this epitome read a few lessons in the beginning of the Sharḥi-Waqáyah with auspicious and blessed results in the presence of that great man. And Naqíb Khán, also, had the good fortune to study under him, and verily, he was a wondrous precious person and blessed (the mercy of God be upon him !)

On the 8th of Jumádá-l-awwal[6] in the year nine hundred and sixty-nine (969) the Emperor went on a pilgrimage[7] to the blessed tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs and Saints, Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí (may God sanctify his glorious tomb !), and gave presents (P. 50) and alms to the people who waited there. And at the town of Sámbhar, celebrated for its salt-mines, Rája Paháráh Mall, governor of Ambér[8], together with his son Rái Bhagván Dás, came and paid his respects to the Emperor, who then espoused his

[1] *Humá* a bird of happy omen. Every head which it overshadows, it is supposed, will in time wear a crown.

[2] *Khuddám* (like *Bandagán*, p. 19, l. 3 *infrá*, and p. 235, l. 11 of Text) is merely a circumlocution for the person himself.

[3] Comp. the expression '*Azízi Miçr* 'king of Egypt.'

[4] *Viz.* (1) Before dawn, (2) midday, (3) afternoon, (4) before sunset, (5) evening. These five hours of prayer are of divine institution *(farz)*.

[5] Read *Jahránah*, not *Jahri-arrah*, which is nonsense.

[6] The fifth month.

[7] *Ziyádat* is, of course, a printer's error. for *Ziyárat*.

[8] The three great Rájpút states are Jaipúr or Ambér, Jodhpúr or Marwar, Udípúr or Méwár.

gentle daughter in honourable wedlock. And Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, who held a fief on the confines of Ajmír, he appointed to reduce the fortress of Mírt'ha, which is within 20 *cosses* of Ajmír, and was held by Jaimall Rájpút; and then returned quickly[1] to Ágra. Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain gave quarter to the garrison, but stipulated that they should carry away with them none of their goods, or personal property. So Jaimall evacuated the place. But a certain Deo Dás one of Jaimall's soldiers contrary to the stipulations, when the imperial troops were entering, with a considerable number of men set fire to the goods and chattels of the fortress, and offered an obstinate resistance. After raising many of the imperial soldiers to the grade of martyrdom, Jaimall himself went into eternal fire, and 200 of his renowned Rájpúts went to hell.[2] Thus by the help of Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-muṭlab Khán, and other Amírs the fortress was taken.

In those days Pír Muḥammad Khán, who after Adham Khán went to the Court possessed absolute power in Málwah, collected a great force, and led it against Burhánpúr and reduced Bíjágaṛh, a strong fortress, by force of arms, and made a general slaughter. Then he turned towards Khándésh, and was not content with himself, unless he practised to the utmost the Code[3] of Changíz Khán [the Moghul, viz., *no quarter*], massacring, or making prisoners of all the inhabitants of Burhánpúr and Asír[4], and then crossing the river Narbadah he raised the conflict[5] to the very heavens, and utterly destroyed many towns and villages of that district, and swept every thing clean and clear :—(P. 51).

[1] "In a day and a night" *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí !* "In less than three days," *Abu-l-Fazl.* "In three days," *T. Alpí.* Elliot.

[2] Our candid author was a pious *Muslim*, and speaks in fitting terms of *Káfirs !*

[3] It is very strange that Defrémery (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Janvier, 1852, p. 76) should call *Taurat* a 'mongol word'; when it is known to all that it is *Hebrew*, and is used in the Qur'án (in the form *Taurát*) to denote the Pentateuch. But it is, of course, true that it is used of this code.

[4] A well-known place in Khándésh, Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí, Elliot, v. 275.

[5] The word used is *'arbadah*, because of its similarity of sonnd to the name *Narbadah*.

'First they carried off every one from house and home,
All money and chattels, whether hidden or exposed :
They robbed the crown from the pulpit, as well as the turban from the preacher,
They tore, the cupola from the mosque, as well as the lamp from the Mináret."

Then, while his men were in confusion[1], and left far behind him, Báz Bahádur Khán, who fled together with some of the rulers of that country, in conjunction with other *zámíndárs* made an attack on Pír Muḥammad Khán. He could not sustain the attack, but betook himself towards Mandú. In the course of his retreat, in company with all his Amírs, he rode his horse into the river Narbadah. It chanced that a string of camels which were passing at the time, attacked his horse, and he went by water to fire[2]. And so the sighs of the orphans, and weak, and captives were his ruin :—

"Fear thou the arrow-shower[3] of the weak in the ambush of night,
For, the more he sighs through weakness, the stronger is the blow of his dart.
When you have cast Bízhan[4] into the well, do not sleep like Afrásyáb,
For Rustam is in ambush, and a crocodile is under his cuirass."

[1] *Uljah* is a Hindústání word meaning "confusion", it occurs also p. 41, line 13 of Text.

[2] *I. e.*, was drowned, and went to Hell.

[3] The arrow-shower is *prayer*, cf. the saying of some Christian writer that: Fervent prayer is like an arrow shot from a strong bow, it pierces the cloud; but half-hearted prayer is like an arrow shot feebly, which falls to the earth without reaching its mark. "The ambush of night" means the darkness of anguish and oppression.

[4] *Bízhan*, (whom Sir W. Jones calls the Paris of Ferdusi), on account of his love-adventure with *Manizha*, daughter of Afrásiáb, was made a captive by the Turks, and confined in a dismal dungeon, till he was delivered by *Rustam*. The crocodile represents Rustam's charger named *Rakhsh*. The reader is referred to the *Sháhnámah* for further legends about *Rustam*. Here, as the Deliverer, he represents God, who avenges the cause of the helpless, when they cry unto Him against the oppressor. Cf. Exodus xxii. 23; Deut. xv. 9; xxiv. 15, &c.

And the Amírs of Málwah, seeing that their remaining any longer in that district was beyond the bounds of possibility, read the verse of flight[1], and came to the Court. For some time they were imprisoned, but eventually obtained their release. Báz Bahádur Khán again became possessed of Málwah, bnt 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, in conjunction with Mu'ín-ud-dîn Aḥmad Khán Farankhúdí and others, brought that country into subjection to the Emperor. Báz Bahádur for some time took refuge in Chitór, and Udípúr, with Rána[2] Udí Singh, but afterwards went away: and after remaining some time in Gujrát he came to the Court, and returned to his allegiance. He was imprisoned for some time, and, though he (P. 52) obtained his release, he did not escape the claw of death :—

> " In this many-coloured garden there does not grow a tree,
> Which can escape the molestation of the wood-man."

And 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek remaining at Hándiyah[3], the auxiliary[4] Amírs, went to their fiefs, and Mu'ín-ud-dîn Khán came to the Court.

In this year Khwájagí Muḥammad Çáliḥ of Hirát, grandson of Khwájah 'Abd-ulláh Marwárid, a well-known Wazír, was appointed to the Çadr-ate[5]. But he had not such absolute power [as his

[1] *I. e.* they fled. Compare the following two from *Bahá-ud-dín Zahír*. (1) *Wakuntu ka-súrat-i-'l-'ikhláç-i ammá 'abarta, wakanta 'anta ka-ḍí janábah*, " And I was like the Súrah of Sincerity [so pure and sincere] when you passed by, and *you* were like one ceremonially unclean [*i. e.* not fit to touch the Qur'án]." (2) *Qara'ná Súrat-'as-salwán-i 'ankum, bal ḥafiẓnáhá*, " We read the Súrah of Parting without regret from you, nay, we learnt it by heart." Súrah cxii see p. 23, is called *Súrat-ûl-'ikhláç*, but there is not one called *Surat-'us-salwán*. The latter expression is imitated from the former which is proverbial. So the expression " the verse of flight" (possibly too with some reference to Al Qur'án xxxiii. 16) is after the analogy of the phrase " the verse of the Throne" meaning Al Qur'án ii. 256.

[2] *Rána* is Hindi for *Rája;* and fem. *Rání* (text, p. 17, l. 6) for *Rájní*. *Udí* is the Hindi *Udaya*.

[3] Spelt *Hindia* in the maps.

[4] *Kúmaki* (or *Kúmákchí)* means 'auxiliary'. The words are *Chaghatái—Tátar*, see Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-oriental*, p. 476; and C. Defrémery, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Février—Mars, 1852, p. 283.

[5] See p. 22, note.

predecessors] in the matter of conferring and granting *Aukáf*,[1] and *Madadi ma'ásh:* because his jurisdiction was circumscribed by that of the clerks.

In this year Sayyid Bég, son of Ma'çúm Bég, came as ambassador with a letter from Sháh Ṭahmásp [of Persia], containing all the conventional condolences [for the death] of the late Emperor. That letter shall be given hereafter *in extenso*, if God (He is exalted !) will. He was received with all honour and respect, and the Emperor presented him with a sum of seven *lacs* of *tankahs*[2] and a horse, and dress of honour, besides all the hospitality and kindness, which the Amírs showed him, so that he went back from Hindústán with gifts and presents without number.

On Monday the 12th of Ramzán[3] of the year 969 Adham Khán through pride, and presuming on his favour with the Emperor, and being jealous because he had taken the premiership from Máhum Ankah[4] and given it to Atkah Khán (surnamed A'zam Khán, who on his arrival from the Punjáb had been made Prime-minister) at the suggestion of Mun'im Khán and Shiháb-ud-dîn Aḥmad Khán,[5] and some others, who were jealous of Atkah Khán, cut him in pieces [as he sat] at the head of the Díwán. Then with his sword in his hand he swaggered in, and took his stand at the door of the royal

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Tankah*, called *Táka* in Bengál, is there at the present time the name for *rupee.*

[3] The ninth month

[4] Ferishta (Briggs ii. p. 211) says that 'a nurse's husband, and her male relations are called Atka [Blochmann *Atgah*] : the wet-nurse herself in Tukí is called Anka [Calcutta Chaghatáí Dict. and Blochmann pronounce *Anagah*] : a foster-brother is called Koka [or with the affix of unity, Kokaltásh, which Ab-ul-Fazl writes *Gokaltásh*].' Whenever, then, a Persian Text, as here, has *Atkah* after the name of a *woman*, it must be read *Ankah* or *Anagah*. Akbar had three nurses, *Máhum Anagah* mother of Adham Khán and Muḥammad Báqí Khán ; *Pichah Ján Anagah*, wife of Khwájah Muqçúd 'Alí a servant of Akbar's mother ; and *Jíjí Anagah* wife of Shams-ud-dín Muḥammad Atgah Khán (the *Atkah Khán*, whose death is here recorded). Ab-ul-Fazl says, that after the fall of Bairám Khán, Máhum Anagah, by whose machinations that result was brought about, became *de facto* [if not *de jure*] prime-minister, while the ostensible minister was *Mun'im Khán.*

[5] A Sayyid of Nisápúr, and a relative of Máhum Ankah.

inner apartments. Then the Emperor also seized a sword, and coming out, asked him, "Why did you commit such an act?" He answered, "A disloyal[1] fellow (P. 53) has met with his deserts." Then they bound him hand and foot, and cast him down from the top of the terrace of the palace, and since he still breathed the Emperor commanded them to throw him down a second time. By chance it happened that the murderer was buried one day before his victim. And so that disturbance died down. And one date is *Two violent deaths took place*,[2] and another, by way of a riddle, is :—

"From his violence A'zam Khán lost his head."[3]

The second is exactly correct, but the first is one too many. And some one else said as follows :—

"The army's greatest[4] Khán, A'zam Khán,
Whose equal none saw in this age,
Went to martyrdom in the month of fasting,
He drank fasting the draught of death.
Would that he had been martyred one year later,
For then the year of his death would have been *Khán Shahíd*."[5]

And when she had presented the food of the fortieth[6] day of mourning for Adham Khán, Máhim Ankah, through grief, joined her son.

[1] In the text read *ná* instead of *tá*.

[2] 6 + 4 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 4 + 300 = 970.

[3] *Zulm* 'violence' gives 970. The 'head' of *A'zam* is *A*, *i. e.* 1, subtract this from 970, and you get 969 the date.

[4] Punning on the name *A'zam*, which means 'greatest.'

[5] *I. e.*, 'Martyr Khán' = 970.

[6] On the 39th day after the death they cook, during the day, *poláú*, a dish made of rice, meat, stale butter clarified (*ghí*), curdled milk, spices, &c. ; and at night they prepare plenty of curries, *tulun* (fried food), *poláú*, &c. (*i. e.*, such dishes as the deceased was in the habit of eating during his life), arrange them in plates, together with various aromatic spices &c., some of the clothes, and jewels of the deceased, which they deposit on the spot where the individual gave up the ghost, and over them suspend to the ceiling a flower-garland. Some foolish women believe, that on the fortieth day the soul of the dead leaves the house, if it has not done so previously ; and if it has, it returns to it on that day, takes a survey of the above articles, partakes of such as he takes a fancy to, swings by the flower-wreath, and departs. These sayings and doings, however, are all innovations, and consequently unlawful. *Qanoon-e-Islám*, 424.

In this year my late, lamented, father (may God have mercy on him !), the Shaikh Mulúkshâh, on the 27th of Rajab in Ágrah, through liver-complaint, transferred the baggage of existence from this transitory world to the eternal kingdom. I carried his corpse in a coffin to Basáwar and buried him there. I found the date as follows :—

"The Title-page of the Excellent of the world, Mulúkshâh,
That Sea of Knowledge, that Source of Generosity, and Mine of Excellence,
Since in his time there proceeded from him a very World of Excellence,
The date of the year of his death comes out: *a World of Excellence.*"[1]

And by a curious coincidence the Pír, who had been his patron, *viz.*, Shaikh Panjú Sambhalí, who had a great following, and a few of whose excellencies will be mentioned, if God will, in the sequel to this work, in this same year attained union with the True Beloved, and the following was found to give the date :—(P. 54)

"The Perfection of Truth and Religion, Shaikh Panjú,
Whose place the Garden of Paradise became,
By way of enigma the date of his death
Is got out from his heart-attracting Name."[2]

And another *mnemosynon* for the date is *Darwísh dánishmand* "the learned Dervish" (may God have mercy on him !).

In this year Mun'im Khán, the Khán Khánán, and Muḥammad Qásim Khán, the High Admiral, on account of their being accomplices in the lawless and base act of Adham Khán, and for other reasons, passing the ford of *Púyah* in a boat at the time of evening prayer, with the connivance of certain poor *zamíndárs*, in company with two or three horsemen, went towards Ropar[3] and Bajwárah[4]

[1] *Jahán-i fazl* = 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 + 80 + 30 + 800 = 969.

[2] By taking the numerical values of the letters in *Shaykh Panjú*, omitting *P* which is not included in *Abjad*, we get 969.

[3] On the river Satlaj.

[4] P. 10.

by the skirts of the mountains. Thence they continued their flight towards Kábul, where Ghaní Khán, son of Mun'im Khán, was governor, and eventually came to the *pargana* of Sarút, which is in the Dóáb, the fief of Mír Muḥammad Munshí. Qásim 'Alí Khán, [and] Asp[1] Juláb Sístání, governor of that *pargana*, a donkey of a fellow, recognizing in their mode of action in the jungle signs of flight, with a number of ruffians and whole *posse comitatus*, came and seized both of them. Then he sent the news to the people of Sayyid Maḥmúd Bárha, who happened to be in the neighbourhood. The latter appointed a number of his sons, and friends, to accompany them, and sent them with every mark of honour and respect to Ágra. The Emperor commanded a number of those about his person to meet them, and bring them to his presence. Then at his own request he reinstated the Khán Khánán in his office of Premier under even better conditions than before. So the Khán Khánán, in conjunction with Shíháb Khán and Khwájah Jahán, continued to conduct public affairs.

In this year Mír Muḥammad Khán Atkah,[2] surnamed Khán Kalán, went with a considerable force to the aid of Kamál Khán[3] G'hakkar into the territory of the G'hakkars, and after (P. 55) a battle took prisoner Sultán Ádam the paternal uncle of Kámal Khán, who has been already mentioned.[4] His son, Lashkarí by name, fled to Kashmír, and was afterwards captured, and both father and son[5] died a natural death. Then the whole district was entrusted to Kamál Khán, and he hastened to do homage to the Emperor at Ágra.

One day the Emperor made a great feast, and Khán Kalán wished to present a *qaçídah*, which in his vanity he had called *ghazzá* [splendid], in the presence of the Amírs and nobles and great poets. As soon as he had recited the first line of the first couplet as follows:—

[1] *Asp* means "a horse," hence the wit of calling him "a donkey."

[2] Elder brother of Atka Khán (*A'zam Khán*).

[3] A farmán had been issued that the territories of the G'hakkars should be divided between him and Sultán Ádam. But the latter resisted this division of territory. Elliot, V. 279.

[4] See above, p. 13.

[5] The Akbar-námah says that the son was put to death Elliot, V. 280.

"Thanks be to God that *I* have returned
After conquering the G'hakkar"—

suddenly 'Abd-ul-Malik Khán, his relative, (while the Emperor was giving all his attention to the *qaçídah*, which was in fact the cause of the issue of the invitations, and in return for which Khán Kalán *expected* a great gift), came forward and shouted out "My Khán you ought to have said *we* returned, for there were other *expectants* besides yourself." At which the whole company fell on the back of their heads[1] with laughter. Then Khán Kalán threw his turban on the ground and exclaimed "My Liege! satisfaction from this little incapable, who has marred the results of all my labour!" And one of the witticisms of the time is this verse which 'Abd-ul-Malik made for his signet ring:—

"When you increase '*Abd*[2] by *Malik*
You must put *Alif Lám* between."

And Mullá Shírí, the well-known Hindú poet, has a *qaçídah* of eulogy and satyr dedicated to him; and this is one of the couplets in it:—

"If a rustic[3] confront you, get out of his way,
For you are a gentleman, and ought not to confront a rustic."

In this year Mauláná 'Alá-'ud-dín Lárí, author of notes in explanation of the "'*Aqá'idi* (P. 56) *nasafí*," came from the Khán Zamán's to Ágra, and applied himself to the study of the sciences, and founded a school of worthless persons, the date of the foundation of which is given by the words *Madrasah-e Khas*[4] "A school of the worthless." Then he went on a pilgrimage, and from that journey he travelled to the other world (God's mercy be upon him!).

In this year the affairs of Kábul fell into confusion, and several Governors, becoming marks for the arrows of promotion, and then

[1] Anglicè "split their sides."

[2] '*Abd* is 'servant' and 'Malik' is 'king,' '*Abd-ul-Malik* means 'servant of the king.' But there is perhaps a further meaning of an unedifying nature.

[3] The same word that is used in p. 10, l. 2; see note on that passage.

[4] 40 + 4 + 200 + 60 + 5 + 600 + 60 = 969.

of disgrace, in a short space of time felt the effects of the ups and downs of fortune. Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khán, *Á'khtah-bégí*,[1] on his coming to Hindústán from his own quarter, had been promoted to the government of Kábul. The Khán Khánán, Mun'im Khán, on account of the bad disposition of Ḥaidar Khán, now wrote for his own son Ghaní Khán to come, and then appointed him to supersede Ḥaidar Khán. But Ghaní Khán, through his depravity, followed in the footsteps of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khán, and committed many discreditable actions. For instance, without any cause he imprisoned Tolak Khán Qúchín,[2] who was one of the chief Amírs. But he in turn fell into his hands, and experienced the lash of the hemistich :—

"The drink, that thou givest other, thou thyself shalt drink."

When with a hundred strategems Ghaní Khán effected his escape, and, breaking his word, and oath, brought a considerable force to bear against Tolak Khán, who without waiting to fight made for Hindústán: then Máh Júják Bégum, (mother of Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, the son of the Emperor Humáyún, who was at that time ten years of age), with the concurrence of Sháh Walí Bég Atkah, and Fazá'il Bég the Blind, brother of Mun'im Khán, whose eyes Mírzá Kámrán[3] had put out,[4] and his son Abu-l-Fatḥ Bég, closed the fort of Kábul against Ghaní Khán. So he was compelled to go to Hindústán, and, on account of his undutifulness towards his father, being unable to find road or way, fled, as an exile[5] and wanderer, to Jounpúr, until at last he escaped from the disgrace of existence. Now the afore-mentioned Fazá'il Bég was

[1] The officer in charge of the geldings, not to be confounded with the higher title Átbégí (from the Turkish *át* a horse). Blochmann, *Á'ín-i Akbarí*, 432, *n*.

[2] He began his career under Bábar, joined Humáyún on his return from Persia, accompanied him to India, and after the Emperor's death became a supporter of Akbar. Compare p. 3, where he is called *Qúrchí* (comp. p. 13 *n*.) His correct appellation seems to be *Qúchín*. He is called *Qúlchín* in the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*.

[3] Humáyun's brother.

[4] See Erskine ii, 336.

[5] The reading of this word in the original is doubtful.

(P. 57) the Bégum's lieutenant, and his son Abu-l-Fatḥ Bég acted as his deputy, and they by combined tyranny helped themselves to good fiefs, and put off the Prince's suite with inferior ones. Sháh Walí Atkah not being able to stand this, with the assistance of 'Alí Muḥammad Asp (who is now on the list of the Emperor's Courtiers), and by the Bégum's orders, one night made an end of Abu-l-Fatḥ while he was drunk. On which, as his father was making for Hazárah[1] with his goods and chattels, suddenly the servants of the prince went after him and sent him to his son.[2] Then Sháh Walí Bég with the Bégum's permission assumed the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Ádil Sháh. On account of these things the Emperor sent Mun'im Khán, with some Amírs, to undertake the guardianship of the Prince, and the government of Kábul. Then the Bégum Máh Júják taking the Prince with her went with the whole of the forces of Kábul to Jalálábád[3] intending to offer resistance. Mun'im Khán and all of the auxiliary Amírs, among whose number were Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás and Ḥasan Khán brother of Shiháb Khán, on the first attack met with a severe repulse,[4] and giving his retinue to the wind turned his face towards the Court in such a plight as may no one see [again] ! After this victory the Bégum on a suspicion of treachery sent Sháh Walí to the world of non-existence :—

"A partridge eat an ant, a hawk came and asked satisfaction of the partridge,
Afterwards an eagle came, and did the same by the hawk,
A hunter shot an arrow at him, and took his life,
The rolling sphere one day brings down dust on the hunter."[5]

[1] The northern portion of the tract which is included in the branches of the Hindú Kush.

[2] *I. e.*, killed him too.

[3] Known of old by the name of Jusáí. *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí.*

[4] According to Elliot's translation of the *Ṭabaqát-i 'Akbarí* "Mu'nim Khán defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack." He, or his MS., is evidently in error.

[5] For a parallel instance of primitive notion of retribution, see Mishnáh, *Á'bóth*, ii: Hillel saw a scull floating on the water, and said to it 'Because thou madest others to float, thou hast been made to float : and, eventually, they, who made thee to float, shall themselves float.'—The Persian idiom here is

When Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí returned from Mekka he went towards the Court. Suddenly near Jálwar, at the instigation of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, (P. 58) he tock to rebellion, and went about laying his hands on everything he came across. This Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain had at this time fled from Ágra, and Ḥusain Qulí Khán, Çádik Muḥammad Khán, and others had been sent in pursuit of him, as will be mentioned shortly, if God (He is exalted !) will. Then Ismáíl Qulí Khán and Aḥmad Bég and Iskandar Bég, relatives of Ḥusain Qulí Khán, went in pursuit of Abu-l-Ma'álí, who entered the fortress of Nárnoul, and, seizing the treasures of that place, distributed them amongst his own party. And after that his brother Khánzádah (whom they also called "king of libertines")[1] was captured in the confines of Nárnoul by Muḥammad Çádiḳ Khán and Ismáíl Qulí Khán, who went in pursuit of him. So, being helpless, he turned from Hindústán and went towards Kábul. And coming into the district of the Panjáb by the jungle-side, with the concurrence[2] of their attendants, he killed Iskandar Bég and Aḥmad Bég, who had got separated from the Amírs, and then wrote a petition and sent it to the Bégum Máh Újak Bégum, mother of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím. It contained professions of regard for the late Emperor, and of the sincerity of his own fidelity, and in the beginning of it the following couplet was written :—

"We are not come to this door, for the sake of pomp and grandeur,
We are come here as a refuge from the evil of circumstances."

The Bégum wrote in answer to him :—

"Show kindness and alight, for the house is thy house."

peculiar ; *var-áwardan* "to bring on" when used of *destruction* takes the prep. *az* "from" before the thing *on* which the destruction is brought. *E. g.*, in the episode of *Sohráb* we find :—

Ba-zakhm-í sar-í gurz-i sindán-shikan
Bar-árad damár az du çad anjuman.

"With a stroke of the end of his anvil-smashing mace *he brings destruction on* two hundred battalions." So too in p. 25, line 17 of our Text, see p. 18 *n*.

[1] Sháh-e lawandán.

[2] Some of those under their command had been formerly in the service of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, and now had bound themselves by an oath to desert Aḥmad Bég and Sikandar Bég whenever Abu-l-Ma'álí should be met with. *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*. See p. 60 of our Text.

He married the Bégum's little daughter ; and then, assuming the management of affairs, at the instigation of some conspirators, such as Shúkún son of Qaráchah Khán and others, slew the helpless Bégum, and martyred Ḥaidar Qásim Kóhbar, who for some time had been Sháh Wáli Bég's successor as [the Mirzá's] irresponsible lieutenant. (P. 59). His brother Muḥammad Qásim Kóhbar he imprisoned. And when a considerable body of men bound on their girdles to avenge the Bégum, and punish him, a savage fight took place within the fortress of Kábul, in which he drove them out. And Muḥammad Qásim, having effected his escape, went to Badakhshán, and instigated Mírzá Sulaimán to expel Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí ; Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, also, sent some of his people to urge him to come : as will appear later on.

In this year Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain—who is of the fourth generation from his Reverence :—

"He, who is acquainted with the *Freedom* of God,
Is the Lord of the *Free*, (though) the *Servant of God*"[1] :—

after the return from Mekka of his illustrious father Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín (son of Khwájah Khávind, son of Khwájah Yaḥá, son of Khwájah *Aḥrár*, God rest their souls !), and after his father's receiving all honours went from Nágór to Ágra the metropolis. And through the baseness of some envious persons (may their names and marks be blotted out from the page of the world !), without any apparent reason conceiving a suspicion, he went off towards Nágór[2]. Then the Emperor sent Çádiq Muḥammad Khán, and a body of men, together with Ḥusain Qúlí Khán[3] in pursuit of him, with instructions to try first conciliatory measures, and, if those failed, to extirpate him. Then he, handing over the empty fortress of Ajmír to Tír Khán Díwánah, hastened to Nágór[4]. But Díwánah deserted the fortress, and went and followed his principal. Then Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín, having meet with Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí

[1] *'Ubaid-ulláh* means 'little servant of God'. *Aḥrár* means 'the free'.

[2] Ajmír and Nágór, which were his *jágírs*. *Akbar-námah*. Elliott V, 282.

[3] He had received a grant of Mírzá Sharaf's *jágír*.

[4] The *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* also has Nágór. But *Abu-l-Fazl* says *Jálór* which, as Elliot remarks, the context shows to be correct.

at Jálor (who was passing by on his road from Mekka to the Court), they so arranged matters together, that Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí should go against the people[1] of Ḥusain Qulí Khán, who were at Ḥájípúr, (P. 60) and passing that way, should bring Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím from Kábul, while Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín should do what he could [to prevent rebellion] where he was. But Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí, on hearing the news of the pursuit of Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and the other Amírs, turned aside and betook himself to Narnoul, where Mír Gesú was governor. Him he made prisoner, but not meeting with any further success, except being able to seize some gold, since he saw the way to the Panjáb and Kábul open to him, he pursued his original design. And Aḥmad Bég and Iskander Bég[2], separating from the army of Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and Ismáil Qúlí Khán,[3] went after him without delay, and overtook him. And a body of the servants of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, whom these two leaders had attached to their cause and perfectly trusted[4], sent a rascal named Zamánah Qulí to Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí in great haste, with a message to the effect that if he would remain at a certain place, they would make an end of these two leaders as soon as ever they arrived :—

"You may ascertain in one day the attainments of a man,
Up to what point on the ladder of sciences he has reached ;
But be not confident as to his heart, and be not deceived,
For the wickedness of the heart may remain unknown for years."

When they drew near, Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí on the one side, and these domestic enemies on the other, sprang out of ambush, and brought both the Amírs under the pitiless sword. And their old retainers, when they saw what had taken place, fled like frightened deer or

[1] When he went in pursuit of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, he left his wives and family at Ḥájípúr. *Akbar-námah.*

[2] Relatives of Ḥusain Qúlí Khán. Elliot V, 284.

[3] Brother of Ḥusain Qúlí Khán.

[4] They had formerly served under Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín, and were in reality devoted to him. Now they were serving under Aḥmad Bég and Sikandar Bég, and had bound themselves by an oath to desert to Abu-l-Ma'álí, as soon as he should be attacked. *Ṭabaqáti Akbarí.*

wild animals. When news of this came to the Emperor, he happened to be enjoying himself hunting in the neighbourhood of Mat'hurá[1]. Nevertheless he marched at once towards Dihlí with the intention of quelling the disturbance.

And it was at that place that his Majesty's intention of connecting himself by marriage with the nobles of (P. 61) Dihlí was first broached, and Qawwáls[2] and eunuchs were sent into the harems for the purpose of selecting daughters of the nobles, and of investigating their condition. And a great terror fell upon the city. Now it was the suggestions[3] of Shaikh Badah, and Lahrah, lords of Agra, which set in motion this train of events. The circumstances are as follows: A widowed daughter–in-law of Shaikh Badah, Fátimah[4] by name (though unworthy of such an honourable appellation), through evil passions and pride of life, which bear the fruits of wantonness, by the intervention of her tire-women lived in adultery with Báqí Khán, brother of Buzurg Adham Khán, whose house was near hers. And this adultery was afterwards dragged into a marriage. She used to bring with her to festive gatherings, another daughter-in law of Shaikh Badah, who had a husband living, whose name was 'Abd-ul-Wási'. And the story of the pious cat[5], which is told in the beginning of the Anwár-i-Sohailí, came true. Now this woman, whose husband was still living, was wonderfully beautiful, and altogether a charming wife without a peer. One day it chanced that the eyes of the Emperor fell upon her, and so he sent to the Shaikh a proposal of union, and held out hopes to the husband. For it is a law of the Moghul Emperors[6] that, if the Emperor cast his eye with desire on any woman, the husband is bound

[1] Near Agra.

[2] A *Qawwál* is a person sent to the father of a lady in the proposals of marriage. He praises his principal before the father of the lady.

[3] See below. The word *lahrah* seems corrupt.

[4] According to a saying of Mahomet four women attained perfection, *viz.*, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrán, Khadíjah the daughter of Khowailed (the prophet's first wife), and Fátimah the prophet's daughter.

[5] See Anwári Sohailí (Ouseley) p. 275, l. 1. It does not occur in the beginning of the book.

[6] This was an article in the Code of Changíz Khán, See Price II, p. 660.

to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd and Mír Chobán and his son Damashq Khwájah. Then 'Abd-ul-Wási', reading the verse[1]: "God's earth is wide" :—

"To a master of the world the world is not narrow[2]"

bound three divorces[3] in the corner of the skirt of his wife, and went to the city of Bídar in the kingdom of the Dakkan, and so was lost sight of; and that virtuous lady entered the Imperial Ḥaram. Then Fátimah, at the instigation of her own father-in-law urged that the Emperor should become connected in marriage with other nobles also of Agra and Dihlí, that the relation of equality [between the different families] being manifested, any necessity for unreasonable preference might be avoided.

At this time, when one day the Emperor was walking and came near the Madrasah-e Bégum, a slave named Fúlád, whom Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, when he fled and went to Makka, had set free, shot an arrow[4] at him from the top of the balcony of the Madrasah, which happily did no more than graze his skin. When the full significance of this incident was made known to the Emperor by supernatural admonition and the miracles of the Pírs of Dihlí, he gave up his intention[5]. The Emperor ordered the wretched man to be brought to his deserts at once, although some of the Amírs wished him to delay a little until the affairs should be investigated, with a view to discovering what persons were implicated in the conspiracy. His Majesty went on horseback to the fortress, and there the physicians applied themselves to his cure, so that in a

[1] Al-Qor'án IV, 99. The word used here for "wide" is the fem. of his own name *Wási'*.

[2] *Omne solum forti patria est.*

[3] "Ye may divorce [your wives] twice, and then either retain them with humanity, or dismiss then with kindness..... But if he divorce her [a third time], she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband. But if he [also] divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other." Al Qor'án II, 229. 230.

[4] In this, as in most other events, the native historians, while agreeing in the main facts, are wonderfully at variance with regard to details. See Briggs, *Ferishta* II, 215, and Elliot V, 285.

[5] Viz. of marrying any other ladies of Ágra and Dihlí.

short time he was healed of his wound, and mounting his royal litter[1] went to Ágra.

On the 15th of the month Jumáda-s-sání[2] of the year 970 the Emperor returned to the metropolis. In this year also took place the death of Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí in Kábul. The circumstances are as follows. After the tragic end of the Bégum,[3] the mother of Mírzá Muḥammad Hakím, Muḥammad Qásim Kohbar[4] fled to Mírzá Sulaimán in Badakhshán. Then the Mirzá,[5] with his wife, who is known as Walí Na'mat,[6] brought a large force against Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí, who,[7] in his turn taking with him Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, kindled the flames of war on the banks of the river Ghorband. The right wing of the Kábulees was repulsed by the left wing of the Badakhshees, and Sháh Abul-Ma'álí, leaving Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím to oppose Sulaimán Mírzá, (P. 63) hastened to the support of his broken line. But while he was gone Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, with the concurrence of his followers, crossed the river and went over to Mírzá Sulaimán. Then Abu-l-Ma'álí, having now no further power of resistance, took to flight. Near the village of Járíkárán he fell into the hands of Sulaimán Mirzá's men, who has gone in pursuit of him, and was made prisoner. They brought him to Sulaimán Mírzá at Kábul. Sulaimán Mírzá sent him at once bound, and with his hands tied behind his neck, to Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, who ordered him to be strangled. This event took place on the evening of the 17th of the blessed month of Ramzán in the year nine hundred and seventy (970).

After this victory Mirzá Sulaimán sent for his daughter from Badakhshán and gave her in marriage to Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím.

[1] The word *Singh-ásan* is Sanskrit, and Hindí. It means lit. *lion-seat*, then *throne*, *royal-litter*,

[2] The sixth month.

[3] Máh Chochak (Júják) Bégum, widow of the late Emperor. Abu-l-Ma'álí had stabbed her. Elliot V. 286. Mírzá M. Ḥakím was Akbar's brother.

[4] Mírzá M. Ḥakím's lieutenant *(vakíl)*. He had been imprisoned by Abu-l-Ma'álí.

[5] That is Mírzá Sulaimán, sixth in descent from Taimúr.

[6] Comp. pp. 62, 88, 213 of Text. Her name was Khurram Bégum.

[7] The *u* in the text seems to stand for *va-ó* 'and he' *viz.* Sháh Abu-l- Ma'álí.

And when he had appointed one Umméd 'Alí, a trusty follower, as administrator of the Mírzá's affairs, he returned to Badakhshán.

In this year Jamál Khán, a follower of 'Adalí,[1] had given up the fort of Chunhár to Fattú[2] (another of 'Adalí's followers), whose fame had reached the Imperial Court. When the latter had sent a petition to Court (offering to surrender the fort), Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous (of whom Fattú was a devoted disciple), and Áçaf Khán (who is the same as Khwájah 'Abd-ul-Majíd Haraví[3]) went and took peaceful possession of the place. They committed the fort to the guardianship of Ḥasam Khán Turkamán, and sent Fattú to do homage to the Emperor, by whom he was received with all honour.

About this time took place the death of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous. While at Gujrát he had by means of inducements and incitements brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher, but when, the truth of matters was fully enquired into, he was obliged to flee with all speed. And Mullá Ismá'íl 'Aṭá-í Mu'ammá-í, one of the Shaik's trusty friends and disciples (Be on him what may!) found the date in these words: *Bandah-e Khudá Shud*,[4] "The Lord's servant is no more."

While the compiler of this *Muntakhab* was at Ágra occupied (P. 64) in acquiring the usual branches of knowledge, the Shaikh came in the dress of a Faqír, with great display and unutterable dignity, and his fame filled the universe. I wished to pay my respects to him, but when I found that he rose up to do honour to Hindús, I felt obliged to forego the pleasure. But one day I saw him riding through the bazaar in Ágra. A great crowd accompanied him, before and behind, and to return their salutations, and humble gestures, he was obliged continually to bow on every side, so that he had not a moment's leisure to sit upright in his saddle. Although he was 80 years of age a wonderful freshness, and remarkably fine colour, were observable in his complexion (God be merciful unto him!).

[1] Comp. p. [5] note.

[2] See Text p. 34: l. 10.

[3] See Text, p. 43: l. 2.

[4] 2 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 300 + 4 = 970.

On the 26th of the blessed month of Ramzán of this year my most venerable maternal grandfather died at Basáwar. I received this news at Sansawán, a dependency of Sambhal. *Fázil-i Jehán*[1] "Excellent one of the world" gives the date. Since I was indebted to him for instructiou in several things, besides some of the Arab sciences, and he deserved greatly the respect of men of science, I experienced much distress and sorrow from this event, and it reopened the wound occasioned by the recent death of my valued father. This verse of Amír Khusrú (Upon him be mercy !) occurred to my mind:—

"A sword passed on my head, my heart remained two halves,
A sea of blood flowed, a unique pearl[2] remained."

In the course of the year succeeding these events utter confusion seized my [usually] placid mind, and mundane grief, from which it was fleeing, suddenly came on me with grim mirth, and compassed my path. Then the inner meaning of the words "Cast thyself in it upon me"[3] became evident and the words of my late father, which he used often to repeat, were verified, *viz.*, "This thy clamour and confusion endures as long as I am in the bonds of life; but, when I am no more, they will see how unshackled thou (P. 65) wilt live, and trample upon the world and all that therein is:"—

"The world is a house of mourning: what is hidden?
A sorrow-stricken one like myself: what is certain?
Mourning became two, my sorrow became double:
O help! For my mourning is become double.
It is unjust that there should be two scars on such an one as me!
One light is enough for one candle-stick,
One head cannot wear two veils,
One breast cannot bear two burdens."

In this year I'timád Khán[4], chief eunuch of Aslím Sháh, obtained the highest consideration in the ḥaram, and even in state matters

[1] 80 + 1 + 800 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 970.

[2] A tear of heart-felt sorrow.

[3] Compare Pss. xxii, 9, xxxvii, 5, &c. I do not know where this Arabic quotation comes from.

[4] See Blochmann's *A'ín-i Akbarí*, p. 13, *n.*

became the Sovereign's confidant. He showed an enterprise, and economy, such as was never before exhibited, and the monetary matters of the Díván became more settled. He was in his turn succeeded by Todarmal. And during the time of the influence of Máham[1] Ankah, and the Bégum, and I'timád Khán the chief eunuch (who was a man of sense and discretion), Mír 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy aptly quoted the following tradition from the *Nahj-ul-balághat*, which is attributed to Amír[2] (may God accept him!), but others attribute it to that noble paragon the late 'Alam-ul-hada' of Baghdád, "He said (Peace be upon him!) "A time will come on men, when none will become favourites but profligates, and none be thought witty but the obscene, and none thought weak but the just: when they shall account the alms a heavy imposition, and the bond of relationship a reproach, and the service of God shall be a weariness unto them, and then the government shall be by the counsel of women[3], and the rule of boys, and the management of eunuchs." From this event to the time of emancipation[4] a whole age passed!

"Ah what a difference 'tis between
What now is and what has been."

In the year 971 Khwájah Muzaffar 'Alí Turbatí[5] received the title of Khán, and was made Minister of Finance, and they found *Zálim*[6] "oppressor" to give the date. Meanwhile day by day a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Rája and him. And a certain wit adapted the old verse, (P. 66) :—

"A dog of a Cáshí is better than a Çifáhání,
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Cáshí:"

in the following manner :—

"A dog of a Rája is better than Muzaffar Khán
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Rája."

[1] Comp. p. 36 of Text.

[2] Khusrú (?)

[3] Cf. Is. iii. 4.

[4] From having a Hindú in office.

[5] *Turbat* is the name of a tribe in Khurásán. Blochm. 348.
900 + 1 + 30 + 40 = 971.

When the Amírs complained of the Rája to the Emperor, and requested his dismissal, he returned answer "Every one of you has a Hindú[1] to manage his private affairs. Suppose we too have a Hindú, why should harm come of it ?" And a foolish fellow invented the following jewellers-posie concerning the Rája :—

"He who of Indian affairs made a mull
Was the Rája of Rájas Todarmal."

In this year Qází Lál, the wittiest of all good fellows and boon-companions, was sent for from the town of Baran under some pretext or other, and delivered up to punishment. The words *Qází Lál*[2] give the date.

In this year Ghází Khán Tannúrí[3], one of the great Amírs of 'Adalí, who had been for some time at the Court, once more took to flight and went to Hatiyah. In the neighbourhood of Gaḍha he brought a considerable force to bear against Áçaf Khán and gave battle. He was slain on the battle-field, and Áçaf Khán, having it now all his own way, marched against the district of Gaḍha-Katangah[4]. This district at that time contained 70,000 inhabited villages, and its metropolis was the fortress of Chourá-gaḍh[5]. But in former times the metropolis had been the fortress of Hoshang-ábád, which was built by Sulṭán Hoshang Ghórí king of Málwa. Rání Durgávatí by name, a lady of great loveliness and grace, and in the prime of beauty, who held the government of the place, came against him with 20,000 horse and foot, and 700 powerful elephants, and fought an obstinately contested battle. Many valiant souls on either side, after striving and struggling beyond all limit or measure, at a message from some arrow or pitiless sword, vacated their bodies. An arrow (P. 67) hit the queen in a mortal part, and when she was

[1] When Bábar arrived in India the officers of revenue, merchants, and work-people were all Hindús. Erskine's *Bábar*, p. 232.

[2] 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 + 30 + 1 + 30 = 972, which seems to be one too many.

[3] So called, also in the *'Aín i Akbarí*, Bloch. p. 367. But in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* he is called *Súr*. Elliot V, 288. A Ghází Khán Súr was killed in the time of Humáyún, Blochmann, p. 384.

[4] Comp. p. 77, lines 7 and 11, of Text.

[5] A place about 70 miles west of Jabalpúr. *Blochm.* 367.

on the point of death, she signed to her elephant-driver to put an end to her agony. Nevertheless the tricks of her bad luck did not deliver her from ruffians. Ah yes !—

"Every foul fetid beast
Finds his foul fetid feast:"

[and again] :

"A Christian's well may not be pure, it's true :
'Twill do to wash the carcass of a Jew !"

Áçaf Khán marched against Chourá-gaḍh, and the son of the aforesaid queen, after fighting for his life, joined[1] the queen. So much treasure fell into the hands of Áçaf Khán and his soldiery, that the Creator alone is competent to compute its amount. On the strength of this wealth Áçaf Khán set up the pretensions of a Qárún[2] and a Shadád, until eventually he went under-ground[3] :—

"Though thy corn and wealth be ne'er so great,
All thy coffers full, thy barns be sate ;
Boast not ! on the Judgment-day thou'llt find,
Poisonous serpents round thy wealth entwined."

On the 12th of the month Zí-qa'dah[4] of this year, the Emperor went on an elephant-hunt towards Narwar, and after taking many elephants by means of wonderful contrivances, even in the midst of the rainy season, passing by Sárang-púr in the country of Mandú, at the end of the month Zi-ḥijjah[5] he encamped in that district. And 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, by reason of some defalcations of which he had been guilty, withdrew his family from Mandú, and took the road for Gujrát. And, for all that Muqím Khán (who on that march received the title of Shujá'at Khán) went to him,

[1] Or to retain the cold irony of our author, (a Moslem speaking of a Hindú), we may say that, "he rejoined the ladies".

[2] Equivalent to those of a Midas and a Crœsus.

[3] Of course with reference to the story of Corah who is called Qárún in the Qor'án.

[4] The eleventh month of the Muhammadan year.

[5] The twelfth month.

and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice, 'Abd-ulláh Khán would not accept them :—

" If a place to *take* it thou canst find,
Thy counsel, may be, it will *take*.
But what mark, if the ear of the mind
Be dull, can eloquence then make ?"

'Abd-ulláh Khán for a short time made a stand at Haráwal, but when news of the approach of the Imperial cavalcade (P. 68) reached him, he surrendered to the force of circumstances the greater part of his followers and family and children and goods and chattels, and sending before him only what was absolutely necessary, by a hundred stratagems managed to reach Gujrát. There he took refuge with Chingiz Khán, a dependent of Sulṭán Mahmúd of Gujrát, who had succeeded Sultán Mahmúd in the government of that province, and had become possessed of great pomp and power. The Imperial army went in pursuit of him as far as the confines of Gujrát, and threw his haram and renowned elephants into confusion[1], and made them prisoners, and brought them to the Emperor. The remainder became a prey to their enemies, *viz*, the countrymen and landowners.[2] Now the state of civilization in Gujrát in the time of Chingiz Khán, they describe as such, as it had not[3] been during the reign of former kings; and the demand for men of learning and excellence was such, as to exceed all imagination; and any soldier or traveller or stranger. who came and sought an interview or chose to enter his service, had no further need of anything, nor of the patronage of any one else. And they say that he used daily to give away among his people five or six dresses of honour from his private wardrobe, each single dress being never worth less than 70 or 80, or at any rate 50 *ashrafi*. And one of his Hátimisms[4] was this, that one day he went out with his courtiers, 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek being of the number, and on this occasion two or three vessels full of fine stuffs and precious jewels were presented

[1] Text pp. 4I, 13 and 51, 5.
[2] Sanscrit *bhúpál*.
[3] Supply *na*.
[4] Ḥátim Ṭáí was famous for his liberality.

to him: no sooner had he seen them, than he gave them up to 'Abdulláh Khán Uzbek. And another instance of Chingiz Khán's liberality is the following; Sháh 'Árif Çafaví Ḥusainí (who is now at Láhor, and renowned for the gift of dominion over *Jinns*) possessed great treasures, which he used to give away to people. Now it is said, that he had received all these treasures and hoards from Chingiz Khán, and that all the money he gave away bore the stamp of Chingiz Khán (but God knows!).

At this time Mírán Mubárak Sháh of Burhámpúr sent ambassadors to the Emperor who accepted his homage. And I'timád (p.69) Khán[1] the chief eunuch accompanied them, and brought the daughter of Mírán, with suitable gifts and presents, to the Court. And Muqarrab Khán one of the Amirs of the Dakkan came and did homage to the Emperor. And in the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) the Emperor went from Mandú to the district of Nálchah[3]. He appointed Qará Bahádur Khán to the Government of the district, and himself went on a hunting expedition by away of Ujain, Sárang-púr, Baródah, and Gwályár, and on the 3rd of the month Rabi'ul-awwal[4] returned to his capital. Twins, Ḥasan and Ḥusain by name, were in this year born of one of his wives, and in the course of one month went to the other world.

In this year the building of the city of Nagarchín took place. On this subject one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of the *Akbar-námah*, ordered me to compose some lines, which I here insert without alteration:—

"When[5] the Architect of the workshop of invention, through the promptings of original genius, suggested to the lofty thoughts of the absolute monarch, who is the builder of the metropolis of the world, and especially the artificer of the shrine of Hind, that, in accordance with [the verse]:

[1] See p. 63, *supra*.

[2] The first month.

[3] A town in the territory of Dhar in Málwa, on the route from Mow to Mandú.

[4] The third month.

[5] Our author here gives us a specimen of his stilted style which, happily for us, he does not usually adopt. (In l. 12 read آغار for آغاز)

"The world-upholder, the world to hold, doth know,
One place to uproot, and then another sow :"

he should make resting places for the glorious imperial cavalcade, by graciously building at every stage, and on every clod of soil, where the air of the place was temperate, its fields extensive, its water sweet, and its plains were level—and what choice was there! for cool spots, and pleasant dwellings, and fragrant resting places, and sweet waters, with a view to preservation of the gift of bodily health, and with a view to the possibility of an evenly-balanced condition of the soul, all of which may possibly be conducive to the knowledge and service of God, are of the number of the six necessaries of existence ; and especially at a time when some of the royal occupations (P. 70), such as exercise and hunting, were therein involved—for these reasons, in this year of happy augury, after his return from his journey to Málwah, when the friends of the empire were victorious, and the enemies of the kingdom had been disappointed, before the eyes of a genius lofty in its aims, and the decision of a mind world-adorning, it befell, that, when he had made a place called G'hráwalí (which is one *farsang* distant from Ágra, and in respect of the excellence of its water, and the pleasantness of its air, has over a host of places a superiority and a perfect excellence) the camping-place of his imperial host, and the encampment of his ever-enduring prosperity, and when he had gained repose for his heaven-inspired mind from the annoyances incidental to city-life, he spent his felicity-marked moments, sometimes in *chougán*-playing, sometimes in racing Arabian dogs, and sometimes in flying birds of various kinds ; and, accepting the building of that city of deep-foundations as an omen of the duration of the edifice of the palace of his undecaying Sultanate, and as a presage of the increase of his pomp and state, his all-penetrating firmán was so gloriously executed, that all who obtained the favour of being near to his resting-place, and were deemed worthy of the sight of his benevolence, one and all built for themselves in that happy place lofty dwellings and spacious habitations, and in a short time the plain of that pleasant valley under the ray of the favour of his Highness, the adumbration of the divinity, became the mole on the cheek of the new bride

of the world, and received the name of *Nagar-chín*, which is the Hindústání for the Persian *Aman-ábád*, "Security's-abode":—

"Praise be to God! that picture, which the heart desired,
Issued forth from the invisible behind the curtain of felicity."

It is one of the traditional wonders of the world, that of that city and edifice not a trace now is left, so that its site is become a level plain—"Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!"[1] as the author of the *Qámús* has said: "Of seven or eight cities, called Mançúrah, or Mançúriyyah, built by a mighty king,[2] or monarch of pomp (P. 71) in their time, at this time not one is inhabited:" "Will they not journey through the land, and observe what has been the end of those who were before them[3]."

In this year, or in the year preceding which is perhaps more correct, the Emperor sent to the town of Andarí-Karnál for Shaikh 'Abd-ul-nabí, the traditionist, grandson of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qudús of Gangóh, who is one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, aud made him chief Çadr[4], in order that in conjunction with Muzaffar Khán, he might pay the pensions[5]. Soon after he acquired such absolute powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistance allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if the bounty of all the former kings of Hind were thrown into one scale, and the liberality of this age into the other, yet this would pre-

[1] "He it is who caused the unbelievers ... to quit their homes.... They thought that their fortresses would protect them against God. But God came upon them .. and cast such fear into their hearts that by their own hands ... they demolished their houses. Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!" *Al Qur'án* LIX, 2.

[2] For *Shahr-hái* read *Shahryári*.

[3] Al Qur'án XII, 109

[4] During Akbar's reign the *Çadr* ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. He was the highest law-officer, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited power of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law-officer, and might exercise the powers of High-Inquisitor. *Blochm.* p. 270. The four officers referred to are *Vakíl*, *Vazír*, *Bakhshí*, and *Çadr*.

[5] Comp. p. 23.

ponderate. But gradually, little by little, it regained its former position, till eventually things became reversed, as will be related further on, (if God, He is exalted ! will).

In this year Khwájah Mu'azzam, maternal uncle of the Emperor, who bore the mark of relatives, like scorpions, on the forehead of his destiny :—

"Relatives are like scorpions in the harm they do ;
Therefore be not deceived by father's or mother's brother.
For verily *sorrow*[1] is increased by the *father's brother*,
And as for the *mother's brother* he is *destitute* of all good qualities".

One day, when they came to his house to counsel him, and prevent his committing some unworthy actions, which he meditated, he having learnt their intentions, through malevolence and that innate insanity, which had before manifested itself in him, killed his wife. And since he was deserving of punishment, the Emperor first had him mauled with kicks and sticks, and then gave him several duckings, and packed him off to Gwályár. In that prison he was released from the prison of his natural temperament and went to his deserts :—

"Leave to Destiny the man who does you a wrong,
For Destiny is a servant, who will avenge you."

And in this year Mírzá Sulaimán for the third time came to Kábul. And the reason for his coming was (P. 72) this : when Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí was defeated, and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím had married[2], just before he went away again Mírzá [Sulaimán] gave the greater part of the district of Kábul in jágír to his own soldiers, and so [by this diminution of his revenue] the affairs of Mírzá [Ḥakím] and his people became embarrassed. So they on some pretext or other turned [Mírzá Sulaimán's] Badakhshís out of Kábul. So

[1] There is of course a play on the words. *Ghamm* means 'sorrow', and *'amm* 'father's brother'. *Khál* means 'mother's brother', and *khálí* (in rhyme for *khálin*) means 'destitute'. The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since *ammá* requires *fa* after it ; read, therefore, *wa'inna-l-khála*. Moreover the *tanwín* of *khairátin* must be dropped.

[2] See p. 63 Text.

Mírzá Sulaimán, with a large force, came to take vengeance, and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím being unable to withstand him left Báqí Qáqshál with a number of trusty vassels in Kábul, and himself went to Jallál-ábád. Mírzá Sulaimán pursued him. But when Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím reached the banks of the Níláb he wrote a letter to the Court, and Mírzá Sulaimán leaving Qambar, one of his followers, with a body of men at Jallál-ábád, went from Pashá-war to Kábul. In accordance with a command [received] all the Amírs of the Panjáb (such as Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Atkah Khán, with the whole Atkah-clan[1], and Mahdí Qásim Khán, and Kamál Khán Gah'kar) joined Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákim; and having given Qambar with 200 or 300 persons (who were holding Jalál-ábád) as prey to the sword, sent Qambar's head, together with news of the victory, to Báqí Qáqshál at Kábul. Mírzá Sulaimán turned the face of flight towards Badakhshán. Mírzá Ḥakím came to Kábul, and Khán-i-Kalán[2] remained in office as guardian of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and the remaing Amírs returned to their own jágírs. After some time Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, without the permission of the Khán-i-Kalán, gave his own sister[3], the widow of Sháh 'Abu-l-Ma'álí, in marriage to Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshbandí, one of the sons of Khwájah Naqshbandí[4] (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshbandí, becoming absolute Prime-minister[5], managed the affairs with absolute power, and some wits of the period used to say :—

"If our Master be Master Ḥasan,
We shall have neither sack, nor rope left".

(P. 73) The Khán-i-Kalán, who had supported the authority of the deposed minister, being unable to endure the present state of affairs, without the Mírzá's leave went to Láhór, and sent a true account of matters to Court.

[1] See above, p. 49.

[2] Mír Muḥammad, elder brother of Atkah Khán.

[3] Fakhrunnisá Bégum, daughter of the late emperor Humáyún by Júják Bégum. *Blochm.* 322.

[4] Called *Khwájah Bahá-ud-dín* in the *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí*. Elliot V, 294.

[5] Presuming on the importance he had acquired by his marriage. *Ilid.*

In this year Shaikh-ul-Islám Fatḥ-púrí Chishtí, who in the year nine hundred and seventy-one (971), on his return from Mekkah and Madínah honoured Badáún with his presence, and wrote from that place a letter in Arabic to the Author of this history (as will be related in its proper places, if God, He is exalted! will), laid the foundation of the building of a new monastry, the like of which cannot be shown in the whole of the inhabited world. The following is a *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"Shaikh-ul-Islám, the leader of mankind,
(May God exalt his sublime power !)
When he came from Madínah to Hind,
That renowned Depository of Spiritual-direction,
From his auspicious advent Hind
Found anew a happy fortune.
Take a certain letter and subtract it
From *Shaikh-ul-Islám*[1], to find the date."

And another like unto it :—

"Shaikh-ul-Islám, the perfect saint,
That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
A flash from whose forehead was a glimpse of Eternity,
A beam from whose face was the light of Eternity,
When from Madínah he turned to Hind,
That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
Reckon a letter and reckon not a letter
From *Khair-ul-maqdam*[2], to find the date".

This monastry, having taken 7 years to complete, vaunted itself above the seven heavens[3].

[1] 300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 60 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1052. If you take *lámʼ*, which means 'an *l*', and is numerically equivalent to 81, from this you get 971.

[2] 600 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 100 + 4 + 40 = 1025. Subtract *mím* = 90, and you get 935; then add *dál* = 35, and you get 970. But I am afraid that this is not the correct solution of the riddle.

[3] The Seven Heavens (*Bihisht*) are: (1) *Dár ul jullál* (Mansion of Glory), composed of pearls; (2) *Dár us sulám* (The Mansion of Rest), of ruby and

And about this time the Maḥall-i-Bengálí in Ágrah, and another lofty palace, were completed ; and Qásim Arsalán made this *mnemosynon* :—

"When, for his pleasure, the king of fair countenance
Ordered the building of the two palaces of auspicious mark,
The date of the one came out from *'ishrat*[1],
Khánah-e Pádasháh[2] was the date of the other."

During the first part of the month Rajab[3] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972)[4] the Emperor went towards (P. 74) Narwar and Kaṛah with a view to elephant-hunting ; and having appointed certain people of that district to secure the elephants, he went himself to Gwályár. For some days, through the heat of the weather, he suffered from a fever ; but, when he recovered, he returned to his metropolis.

In this year the project of building the fortress of Ágrah was conceived ; and its citadel, which had before been of bricks, he had built of hewn-stone. And he ordered a tax of the value of three *sérs* of corn on every *jaríb* of land in the district, and appointed collectors and officers[5] from the Ámírs who held jágírs to collect it. In the course of five years it was completed. [The dimensions of the fortress are as follows :] breadth of wall, 10 *guz*,

garnet ; (3) *Jannat ul máwá* (The Garden of Mirrors), of yellow pewter ; (4) *Jannat ul Khúld* (The Garden of Eternity), of yellow coral ; (5) *Jannat un Nu'ím* (The Garden of Delights), of white diamond ; (6) *Jannat ul Firdús* (The Garden of Paradise), of red gold ; (7) *Dár ul qarár* (The Everlasting Abode), of pure musk. The eighth, or Crystalline Heaven, called *Kúrsí*, supposed to be the judgment seat of God ; the ninth Heaven, called *'Arsh*, the Empyrean Throne of the Divine Glory and Majesty ; and *Jannat ul 'adan* The Garden of Eden, or Terrrestrial Paradise, are not termed *Bihisht*. *Qanoone Islam*, p. 149.

[1] *'Ishrat* means "pleasure", and = 70 + 300 + 200 + 400 = 970.

[2] That is 'The King's palace', 600 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 1 + 5 = 969.

[3] The seventh month of the Muhammadan year.

[4] The Text has by mistake (982).

[5] *Tawáchí* is a Turkí word denoting *haut commissaire*. See De Courteille, Dictionary p. 219. The word recurs at p. 216, l. 8 *infra* of Text.

height 40 *guz;* with a deep trench both sides of which were built up with stone and lime, its width 20 *guz*, its depth to the surface of the water 10 *guz*, and it was filled with water from the river Jamna. And the like of that fortress can scarcely be shown in any other district. And the date of the gate[1] thereof was found by Shaikh Faizí to be *Biná-í dar-i Bihisht*[2], "The building of the gate of Paradise." And cost of the building of the fortress was about three *krors*. After it was completed it became the depository and store house of all the gold of Hindústán, and this *mnemosynon* was found for the date: *Shud biná-i qil'ah bahr zar*[3], "The fortress was built for the sake of gold." And in truth it is not known to any how to convert that *dead* gold into *live*-stock, except to him who applies the verse: "And the Earth hath cast forth her burdens[4]", so that it should say impromptu "God, who giveth a voice to all things, giveth us a voice[5]":—

"Gold in the hand of a worldly man,
O brother, is still in the ore.
Gold, my son, is meant to be enjoyed;
For hording, gold is no better than stone".

In this year the rebellion of the Khán Zamán, and Ibráhím Khán and Iskandar Khán Uzbek took place. And this is how it arose. After the rebellion of 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek[6], suspicion of the whole Uzbek tribe found access to the Emperor's mind, and he sent Ashraf (P. 75) Khán the *Mír-Munshí* from Narwar to seek Iskandar Khán on propitiatory terms. This man held a jágír in Oudh[7], and by means of seductive artifices he managed to carry off

[1] The date of the completion of it, cf. Joshua vi. 26, "At the price of his first-born shall he lay its foundations, and at the price of his youngest *shall he set up the gates thereof.*"

[2] I can only make 974 out of this.

[3] 300 + 4 + 2 + 51 + 10 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 2 + 5 + 200 + 7 + 200 = 986.

[4] Al Qur'án xcix. 2.

[5] Al Qur'án xli. 20.

[6] See above p. 67.

[7] Anglice Oude, Sansk. *Ayodhya.*

to his jágír, which was Sarharpúr[1], Ashraf Khán, on the pretence of accompanying Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, who was senior to the others. Thence they went to Jounpúr to the Khán Zamán[2] with the intention of asking his advice. These came to the determination to rebel, which they proceeded to do unanimously, and most unjustifiably detained Ashraf Khán. Sikandar Khán and Ibráhím Khán raising the head of rebellion in Lak'hnou, and Khán Zamán, and Bahárdur Khán at Kaṛah and Mánikpúr. The Amírs of those districts, such as Sháham Khán Jaláir, Sháh Budágh Khán and others were defeated in battle before the Khán Zamán. In that battle Muḥammed Amín Diváni was made prisoner, and the Amírs then shut themselves up in the fortress of Ním Kahár, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál in Mánikpúr. Then Áçaf Khán leaving a body of men to hold the district of Gaṛha Katangah, went himself with considerable treasure, and a fresh army, to the relief of Majnún Khán. He unlocked his treasury and satisfied the greed of his army, and also supplied Majnún Khán plentifully from the public treasury (which was the means of his being able to recruit his army), and then encamped opposite to the Khán Zamán. Thence they sent reports to the Court. And Sáni Khán wrote this verse in his dispatch :—

> "O royal cavalier, army-decking in the day of battle,
> The victory hath escaped us, place thy foot in the stirrup."

When, on his return from his journey to Málwah, the Emperor received this news, he sent off Mun'im Khán the Khán-Khánán, to cross the Ganges at the ford of Kanouj, and himself in the month Shavvál[3] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) set his royal foot in the stirrup. And to Qiyá Khán Gung (who had been one of the rebels), at the intercession of the Khán-Khánán, (P. 76) the Emperor, on his arrival, granted an audience, and graciously condoned his offences. Thence by forced marches his Imperial Highness came to Lak'hnou. Sikandar Khán did not give

[1] That is, Ibráhím Khán's *jágír*.
[2] 'Alí Qulí Khán Uzbek.
[3] The tenth month.

battle, but joining the Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán, these all ceased to confront Áçaf Khán and Majnún Khán, and, retreating towards Jounpúr with all their people and families, crossed the river Narhan, and went down country. Then Yúsúf Muḥammad Khán, son of Atkah Khán, was appointed to go against them. The Emperor also pursued in person, and encamped outside Jounpúr. At that halting-place Áçaf Khán with 5000 veteran horse, in company with Majnún Khán, came and paid his respects, and brought his gifts, and was graciously received. On Friday the 12th of the month Zí Ḥijjah of the aforesaid year the Emperor alighted at the fort of Jounpúr. And Áçaf Khán being made generalissimo of the army crossed the ford of Narhan and went down country to oppose the Khán Zamán. In those days the Emperor appointed Ḥájjí Muḥammad Khán Sístání to go on an embassy to Sulaimán Kararáni,[1] Governor of Bengál (who had a strong friendship for the Khán Zamán), in order to prevent his giving any aid or assistance to the Khán Zamán. When he arrived at the fortress of Rhotas, some Afgháns seized him, and sent him to the Khán Zamán, with whom they had a kind of union. And the Khán Zamán, on account of the time-honoured friendship which had existed between Ḥájjí Muḥammad Khán and himself, treating him with punctilious honour and respect, settled to send his own mother with him to the Court, to intercede for himself, and entreat forgiveness for his faults.

In these days, the Emperor sent Ḥasan Khán *Khazánchí*[2], and Mahá-pátra[3] *Bád-farósh*[4] (who had been of the favoured courtiers of Shír Sháh, and Islím Sháh, and was without a rival in the science of music and Hindú poetry) on an embassy to the Rájá of Orissa (who was distinguished above the other Rájás for his army and military pomp), to dissuade him from reaching the hand of aid and assistance to the Khán Zamán, and to prevent his giving him refuge in his dominions, and that, by preventing Sulaimán also from

[1] Called also *Karáni*, and *Karzáni*. He reigned in Bengál from 971 to 981, or A. D. 1563 to 1573. *Blochm.* 171.

[2] That is 'Treasurer'.

[3] This name is Sanskrit, from *mahá* great, and *pátra* vessel.

[4] Means 'Seller of wind'.

helping him he might utterly frustrate the (P. 77) plans of the Khán Zamán. The Rája agreed willingly enough to act on the part of the Emperor, and declared his loyalty by sending elephants and valuable gifts and presents. Then the two ambassadors returned to the Court at Ágrah.

About the same time Muzaffar Khán, and others of the courtiers, through the violence of their nature and their avarice, assailed the ear of Áçaf Khán with open and covert suggestions, hoping to get from him presents, valuables and further advantages, [but afterwards] they followed the beaten track of detraction, and suggested to some people to find out the truth about the booty of Chourá-gaḍh[1], and broached the matter to Áçaf Khán himself. When Áçaf Khán was conducting hostilities against the Khán Zamán and was encamped at the fort of Narhan, he had been much wounded and annoyed by these matters, so that one midnight, seizing the opportunity, he together with his brother Vazír Khán, and such troops as he had, fled towards the district of Garha Katangah[2], and arrived at Garha. On the receipt of news of this circumstance the Emperor appointed Mun'im Khán, Khán-Khánán, in his place as generalissimo of that army, and appointed Shujá'at Khán to go in pursuit of Áçaf Khán. Shujá'at Khán embarked from Mánikpúr, and endeavoured to cross the Ganges, but Áçaf Khán (who had retreated for some distance), as soon as he heard this returned, and came to the river-bank to hinder his passage. There he fought a severe battle, and prevented the flotilla of Shujá'at Khán from crossing, so that the latter, when night came on, was obliged to retnrn to the side from which he started. Then Áçaf Khán on the other bank of the river, with his

[1] Compare p. 67, l. 6—10 of Text.

[2] In the vast territories of Hindústán there is a country called *Gondwána*, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of *Gonds*..... To the *east* of this country lies *Katanpúr*, a dependency of the country of *Jhárkand;* and on the *west* it borders on *Káisín*, belonging to the province of *Málwah*. The length of this district is 150 *cosses*. On the *north* lies *Panna*, and on the *south* the *Dekkan*, and the breadth is 80 *cosses*. This country is called *Garha Katangah*. *Garha* is the name of the chief city, and *Katangah* is the name of a place [near it]. The seat of government was the fort of *Chouragarh*. *Akbarnámah*, Elliot, vi, p. 30.

whole army went off to his own jágír. At this juncture Shujá'at Khán, finding the field open, proceeded by another road to Karah, and went some distance in pursuit of an enemy, the skirt of whose garments he could not reach even in thought; and, when he found that there was a great distance between them, he returned to Jounpúr and came of the Court.

Also in these days Ḥasan Khán came as ambassador, bringing fitting presents, on behalf of his brother Fatḥ Khán[1] Afghán Tibatí, governor of the fortress of Rohtás, where in the year (P. 78) 972 he had been beseiged by Sulaimán Kararání, but, on hearing news of the approach of the Emperor, Sulaimán had raised the seige. His prayer was that he might be confirmed in his government, while he should deliver up the fortress[2]. On this account Qulíj Khán was appointed to accompany him from Jounpúr. Then Fatḥ Khán, having repented of sending his brother, and having provisioned the fortress well, wrote a letter to his brother as follows: "Convey thyself to us as quickly as possible, for our mind is at rest with regard to the stores." So Ḥasan Khán, cloaking his treachery under the garb of hypocrisy, managed to detain Qulíj Khán for some time, and outwardly made show of submission. But eventually Qulíj Khán became aware of his duplicity, and had to depart without attaining his object :—

"Dastán i Sám[3] was champion of the world,
Yet at play he was not always the winner."

This Rohtás is a fortress in the neighbourhood of Bihár, in length it is[4] 14 *cosses*, in breadth 3 *cosses*, in height 5 *cosses*[5]. Outside the fortress there is cultivated land, and such abundance of water that if one drive a nail into the ground or set a trivet at any spot water comes up. Ever since Shír Sháh seized the fortress it had

[1] See Blochmann's *Á'ín-i Akbarí*, p 502.

[2] To Akbar rather than to Sulaimán Kararání.

[3] *Dastán i Sám* means 'Dastán son of Sám', comp. the Greek *ὁ τοῦ*. *Dastán* is another name for *Zal* the father of *Rustam* (see notes to page 51 T.)

[4] Viz. the plateau on which it is built. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, Elliot V, 300.

[5] The *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* says 'half a cos'. *Ibid.* This seems nearer the mark.

been in the hands of the Afghans, till the turn came to Fatḥ Khán, who would not bow the head to Sulaimán. And afterwards it came into the possession of the Emperor, as shall be related if God, (He is exalted !) will.

And when Jounpúr became the halting-place of the imperial standards and the Emperor was very busy in the arrangement of important affairs, before he sent off Mun'im Khán as leader of the army against the Khán Zamán, this latter, being encamped at the ford of Narhan, honoured Bahadúr Khán with the command, and sent him off together with Sikandar Khán towards Sardár (?)[1], with instructions to penetrate to the centre of the district, and create a disturbance, and with a considerable force to obtain any advantage they could in any direction they pleased. On this account (P. 79) several of the great Amírs with a great army (such as Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khan, and Qiyá Khán, and Sa'íd Khán, and Muḥammad Ma'çum Khán Farankhúdí,[2] and others whom it would take too long to mention) were appointed, together with Mír Mu'azz-ul Mulk Mashhadí[3] (on the stature of whose capacity the dress of commander-in-chief sat badly and unbecomingly) to undertake to oppose and drive back Iskandar and Bahádur. These armies had not yet met, while Mun'im Khán the Khán-Khánán (who had an excessively friendly regard for the Khán Zamán) for four or five months, after the manner of an old man, kept sending soldiers with messages by letter and by word of mouth to make negotiation for peace. When Khwájah Jahán and Darbár Khán arrived at the ford of Narhan from Jounpúr, in order to examine into the matter of peace or war, and to settle whether haste or delay were preferable, on the one side the Khán Zamán with three or four people, and on the other the Khán-Khánán and Khwájah Jahán, also with three or four persons,

[1] *Sarwár* is the reading of the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*. Elliot identifies the place with *Sarharpúr* (V. 301). Blochmann considers (p. 381 *n*) that the district *Sarwár* got its name from the river *Sarw*. See p. 83, l. 12 of our Text. Our editors, or printers, probably mistook *wáw* for *dál*.

[2] Or *Faranjúdí*.

[3] He belonged to the Músawí Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alí Músá Razá, the 8th Imám of the Shí'ahs.

got into the same boat, and when they had had an interview, settled peace on the following terms: That the Khán Zamán should send his mother, with his uncle Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, and the famous elephants he possessed, to the Court. And that after that all his transgressions had been condoned, Sikandar and Bahádur should go themselves to the Court. Then Darbán Khán brought this news to the royal ear; and the next day the Khán Khánán and Khwájah Jahán brought the mother of the Khán Zamán, aad Ibráhím Khán, together with the elephants, to the Court, and assumed the position of intercessors for the forgiveness of the faults of the Khán Zamán. When, suddenly, news came from Sardár[1] of the flight of the general Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk. The Emperor was much enraged, and that peace was turned to rancour.

The explanation of this circumstance is briefly as follows: When the imperial army drew near to Sikandar and Bahádur, they remaining just where they were (P. 80) sent a message to Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk: "Become thou the means of intercession, and obtain for us from the Court forgiveness of our faults, so that we may send to the Court whatever, of elephants and other things, we have taken possession of, and then when we are cleared of our transgressions, and our faults are forgiven, we may ourselves go and do homage." Mír Mu'izz-ul Mulk[2] in as much as he was continually boasting: "I, and there is none beside me", showed a Pharaoh-like, and harsh Shaddád-like character, which is one of the inheritances of the Sayyids of Mashhad; and on that topic it has been said:—

"O men of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imám[3]
May the curse of God rest on each one of you!"

And another poet saith:—

"Though it is man that renders the face of the ground pleasant,
A *Mashhadí*[4] on the face of the ground is not pleasant."

So he established a character for crookedness of disposition, for which he became notorious, and said: "Your being made clean can

[1] See preceding page, note 1.

[2] He was a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, and therefore our author could not bear him.

[3] Múzá Razá.

[4] *Mashhadí* means both "an inhabitant of Mashhad", and "a cemetery".

only be imagined by the water[1] of the sword". Meanwhile Lashkar Khán, *Mír Bakhshí*, and Rája Todar Mal came from the Court to hasten the decision of the Amírs, whether for peace or war. So that, if they thought it best, they might fight; but if not, they might hold out hopes to Sikandar and Bahádur. So Bahádur Khán came again to the outposts of the imperial camp alone, and sending for Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and some of the Amírs, he made proposals of peace, saying: "Since the Khán Zamán is sending his mother, and Ibráhím Khán to the Court, or rather by this time will have sent them, we have hopes of the forgiveness of our transgressions, and indeed this is the most probable contingency. Meanwhile we are awaiting the answer, and until the affair be settled we will not put our hand to war. Do you too, until the answer arrive, wait a few days." Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk was a very fire, and Todar Mal played the part of oil of naphtha, (P. 81) and made that fire burn fiercer than ever, so that nothing but words of sternness passed on their tongue. So Bahádur Khán and Iskandar Khán, becoming desperate, did what they thought best for their own interests, and drew up their army :—

"In the time of necessity, when there is no escape,
The hand seizes the hilt of the sharp sword".

On the one side Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, putting Muḥammad Amín Dívánah in the van, himself took up his position in the centre, and kept by his side 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khán, and Salím Khán, and Kákar 'Alí Khán, and Bég Núrín Khán, and other tried warriors, and appointed the other Amírs to the right and left wings. And on the other side [were] Sikandar Khán, and his relative[2] Muḥammad Yár Haráwal; and Bahádur Khán was in the centre[3]. Then the two armies joined battle, and like two mountains they clashed together. Much valour was displayed on either side, Muḥammad Yár was slain, and Iskandar Khán fleeing, threw himself into the River Siyáh[4], which was in

[1] *Áb* means "water" Sanskrit *áp*, also "brightness," Sansk. *ábh*. There is, of course, a play on these two meanings of the word.

[2] He was his brother's son. *Blochm.*

[3] The word *qol* is Turkí, it recurs on p. 231, l. 1 of Text.

[4] Sai or Sye, which falls into the Gúmti near Jounpúr.

his rear. He himself got out again, but many of his men were drowned, and others came under the *áb*[1] of the sword. Then the imperial troops gave themselves up to plundering. And Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, with a few men, was the only officer who kept his place. For to tell the truth the body of tried warriors, especially Ḥusain Khán the relative of Mahdí Khán and Báqí Muḥammad Khán, &c., being sick of the command of Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and of the rule of Rája Todar Mal, in accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "There is no fidelity towards kings", did not make that resistance they should have done. At this moment Bahádur Khán, who still held his ground, seized the opportunity, and moved forward to the attack. Directly he came up, he swept Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk before him. And Sháh Budágh Khán was thrown from his horse, but not before he had given substantial proof of his valour, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab, putting forth as much strength as he could, seized him by the hand (P. 82), but in vain. Eventually the son escaped and the father fell into the hands of Uzbeks :—

"When he was free from sorrow, he reckoned him a dear friend,
When he came to grief, he deserted him."

And Rája Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khán, who at the beginning had remained inactive, began now to fight vigorously, until evening, but without success. They became separated, but the next day they rejoined one another, and came to Sher-gaḍh, and reported the state of affairs to the Court.

And now we come to the point where we left off[2] about the Khán Zamán. When the Khán Khánán brought to the Court the mother of the Khán Zamán, and Ibráhím Khán, together with Mír Hádí Sadr and Nizám Aghá, who were trusty friends of the Khán Zamán, and presented the war-elephants to His Majesty, then Ibráhím Khán, with head bare, and a sword and a shroud[3] round his neck in the place of a cloak, delivered himself up, and said in an impromptu :—

"Wilt thou spare me, or wilt thou slay me,
The option lies with thee."

[1] See above p. 82, note 1.
[2] See p. 81.
[3] As a sign that he was ready to suffer death.

Moreover the Khán Khánán, taking up the position of intercessor, reminded the Emperor of the past services of their party, so that their offences received pardon. The Emperor commanded that they should be left in possession of their *jágírs* as heretofore, but that, as long as the Imperial camp remained in that place, they should not cross the river. So their representatives came to Ágrah, and the Emperor issued the necessary *farmáns*, in accordance with which they took possession. The mother of the Khán Zamán sent this good news to her sons[1], and Bahádur Khán and Sikandar Khán sent the elephants, *Koh-párah*, and *Çaff-shikan*[2], two very quarrelsome females, together with other presents, to the Court.

Meanwhile the report from Rája Todar Mal and Lashkar Khán arrived, containing an account of the battle and the flight, and of the treachery[3] of the Amírs. Then the Emperor ordered: "Since to please the Khán Khánán I have overlooked the fault of (P. 83) the Khán Zamán and the others, let the great Amírs come to the Court." Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and Rája Todar Mal were reprehended, and the perpetrators of the treachery were for a time debarred from the imperial presence; and then, were rebuked, and restored to their former favour.

In these days the Emperor made an expedition to the fortress of Chunár, and, being engaged in elephant-hunting in the jungles about that fortress, took to camp-life. While the Emperor's camp was at Chunár, the Khán Zamán crossing the Ganges in haste, and breaking his word[4], came to Muḥammadábád, which is a dependency of the town of Mou[5], and sent agents to seize Jounpúr and Ghází-púr. This affair highly displeased the Emperor, who sent Ashraf Khán *Mír-munshí* to Jounpúr, to detain the Khán Zamán's mother in the fortress, and to seize any rebels there might be there; and, leaving the camp in charge of Khwájah Jahán, and Muzaffar Khán,

[1] 'Alí Qulí Khán Shaibání [*Khán Zamán*], and Muhammad Sa'íd Shaibání [*Bahádur Khán*]. Their father was Ḥaidar Sulṭán Uzbek i Shaibání. Concerning their achievements, see p. 18.

[2] These names mean respectively "Piece of a Mountain", and "Rank-breaker".

[3] See above p. 83.

[4] See above.

[5] Or Mhow (properly Mahu), about lat. 26° N, long. 79° E.

himself hurried off by forced marches with the intention of exterpating the Khán Zamán, and arrived at the bank of the river Sarwár. There some boats laden with goods and effects, which were equal to one[1] of the seven treasures of Khusrou, fell into the hands of the loyal party. The imperial army occupied the bank of the river, and had traversed a considerable tract of jungle, when it became known that the Khán Zamán had retired to the skirts of the mountains of Sawálik. So they gave up the pursuit of him and returned. Meanwhile Bahádur Khán with a body of tried warriors came to Jounpúr, and throwing up a noose, climbed into the fortress, and released his mother; and, seizing Asraf Khán, was fully determined to loot and spill, when he received intelligence of the return of the imperial standards. So he fled, and with Sikandar Khán crossed the Ganges at the ford of Narhan.

And on the 15th of the month Rajab,[2] which is the auspicious birthday of the Emperor, (P. 84) outside the Parganna of Nazámábád, one of the dependencies of Jounpúr, the weighing[3] of the Emperor took place; for, in accordance with established custom, he is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar[4] birthdays, against gold, silver, and other precious things, which are given to the Brahmins of Hind, and to others. And the poets, recited, and still do recite, heart-ravishing poems on this topic. Then his Majesty determined to remain for some time in the citadel of Jounpúr. Then the Khán Zamán on hearing of his remaining there, sent Mírzá Mírak (who afterwards became Razawí Khán) to intercede on his behalf with the Khán Khánán. He went along with Khán Zamán's mother, and brought the message to the Court. So the Khán Khánán, in conjunction with Mír 'Abd-ul Laṭíf Qazwíní, and Mullá Abd-u-lláh Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, and Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí[5] *Sadr* a second time prayed for the pardon of the offences of the Khán Zamán, and was graciously accepted. And they sent Khwájah Jahán, and Mír Murtazá Sharífí, who is of the family of that

[1] This treasure was called *Bádáwar*, because the wind carried a vessel laden therewith to the camp of the said king.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] This is an old Hindú custom. On the whole subject see Blochmann, *Á'ín*, 18.

[4] This latter would be his Muhammadan birthday.

[5] He was *Shaikh-ul-Islám* of Hind.

paragon of the human race, the very eleventh[1] Intelligence, Mír Sayyid Sharíf Jurjání (sanctified be his grave!), and Mukhdúm-ul-Mulk to bring the Khán Zamán to repent of his rebellion, and to convey the glad tidings of his pardon to the ear of his soul. The Khán Zamán came to meet them, and, as was required took an oath of allegiance, and then dismissed their Excellencies with every mark of honour and respect.

The Emperor towards the end of the year nine hundred and seventy-three (973), returned, and set his face towards the capital, and on Friday the 7th of the month Ramzán[2] of the aforesaid year he came to Ágrah and spent his time in festivities. Thence he went to his new palace Nagar-Chín, and occupied himself in *Chougán*-playing, and dog-racing, and hawk-flying. And they contrived a a fiery ball with which one could play on a dark night.

And in this year died Muḥammad Yúsuf Khán, son of Atkah Khán, through continual wine-bibbing :—

"Three things are fatal to men,
And bring the healthy to sickness :
(P. 85) Continual indulgence in wine and women,
And the cramming of food upon food."

In this year the Emperor appointed Mahdí Qásim Khán, and some of the Amírs such as Ḥusain Khán, his relative, and Khálid Khán and others, with 3000, or 4000 horsemen to act against Áçaf Khán in the district of Garha Katangah[3]. Then Áçaf Khán left the fortress of Chourágarh, and sent a petition to Court asking for the pardon of his offences. But, when this was not accepted, he wrote a letter to Khán Zamán, and in concert with Wazír Khán his own brother went to Jounpúr to the Khán Zamán. The Khán Zamán at the first meeting bore himself so haughtily towards him, that Áçaf Khán repented of having come :—

"Alas that he came out of the well,
And fell into the snare!"

[1] They count *ten* Intelligences ; this man was, as it were, *an eleventh*.

[2] The 9th month.

[3] See p. 78, note 2.

And Mahdí Qásim Khán, having got the district of Garha into his power, gave it to the *Jágírdárs*, and then giving up his pursuit of Áçaf Khán went by way of Hindia towards the sacred Mekka, which he had the happiness to reach. And Ḥusain Khán with his own men went after him as far as the fortress of Satwás near the kingdom of Dekkan.

Then all of a sudden Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá, sons of Sulṭán Muḥammad Mírzá (who was descended on his father's side from Taimúr, the Fortunate[1], and on his mother's side from Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá[2]), an old man and full of years, to whom the Emperor had given the Parganna of A'zampúr as his *jágír*, raised the standard of revolt in the district of Sambhal[3]. And, after the subjugation of the Khán Zamán, and the Emperor had turned towards the Panjáb against Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, they fleeing before Mun'im Khán, the *Khán Khánán*, plunged into the midst of the district and came to Dihlí, and eventually raised the standard of rebellion in the kingdom of Málwah, [P. 86]. From this place two of the brothers, Sháh Mírzá, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá, went and laid seige to Hindia. But Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá went towards Satwás, which was 10 *cosses* distant, and Ḥusain Khán together with one named Muqarrab Khán, a chief of the Amírs of the Dekkan, shut himself up in Satwás. Of stores there were none in the fort, so that they were reduced to eating the flesh of horses, camels, and cows, and the matter touched the life, and the knife reached the bone, and yet no assistance came from any side; still, however much Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain might bring forward proposals of peace, the garrison would not give in. Till, one morning, they put the head[4] of Qadam Khán (Muqarrab Khán's brother, who had been killed at Hindia), upon the point of a lance, and showed

[1] The title is *Çáḥib-i-Qirán, i. e.*, Lord of conjunction, *viz.*, of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, called *Sa'dain*. He was descended from the second son of Taimúr, *'Umar Shaikh Mírzá*, father of *Mírzá Báiqrá*, father of *Mírzá Mançúr*, father of *Mírzá Báiqrá*, father of *Wais Mírzá*, father of *Muḥammad Sulṭán Mírzá*. The sons of *Muḥammad Sulṭán Mírzá* were (1) *Ulugh Mírzá* (2) *Sháh Mírzá*, (3) *Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá*, (4) *Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá*, (5) *Ma'úd Ḥusain Mírzá*, (6) *'Áqil Ḥusain Mírzá*.

[2] She was daughter of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, *king of Khurásán*.

[3] The *Jágírdárs* of the vicinity treated them as mere marauders and expelled them from Sambhal, whence they proceeded to Málwah. Briggs' *Ferishta*, II, 226.

[4] Instead of *bar* read *sar*.

it to Muqarrab Khán, and let him know that Hindia was taken, and that his kith and kin and the inhabitants of the place were all prisoners. Moreover they brought his mother, and setting her where he could see her, said: "Since the family and dependants of Muqarrab Khán are in this condition, with what confidence do you go on fighting?" Then Muqarrab Khán, being helpless, and rather a Muqarrab-*ghulám*[1] than a Muqarrab-*Khán*, went and saw the Mírzás. Then, having granted Ḥusain Khán quarter, and got him out under treaty, they at first tried to press him into their service, but when he did not seem to see it, they let him go unharmed. Eventually in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), at the time when the Emperor had gone from Láhór to Ágra, he went, and did homage to him, and was favourably received, and the Emperor gave him in addition to Patiyálí, which was his *jágír*, the Purganna of Shamsábád.

The composer of this epitome, one year before thus, having had the good fortune to go from Badáún to Patiyálí, became acquainted with the aforesaid Khán. And, since he was a teacher of polite learning, and condescending, and dervish-like, and brave, and munificent, [P. 87] and of blameless life, and a sunní, and an attendant at the mosque, and a patron of science, and a friend of virtue, and easy of access, I had no desire to leave his presence, and to go and pay my respects elsewhere. Accordingly I spent the space of 10 years in his society, in these unknown corners and dark recesses, engaged with him in suitable occupations. At last Fortune played me a trick, and struck a fatal blow to this companionship. A strange matter was at the bottom of this separation, and however much I begged his pardon, and employed mediation and intercessions, and, going to Badáún, got even my, now deceased, mother to act as my advocate, it availed nothing; so I hasted to pay my respects to the Khalíf of the age[2]:—

"The heart, which is grieved by any one,
It is difficult to make happy.
A vase[3], that has been broken,
It is difficult to piece together again."

[1] *Khán* is a "Noble", *ghulám* a "slave"; and *Muqarrab-ghulámí* possibly means a "confidential servant" like *Muqarrab-ul-khidmat*.

[2] That is the Emperor Akbar.

[3] Compare above p. 28 of Text.

Finally[1] the Khán Zaman appointed Açaf Khán together with Bahádur Khán to reduce some of the districts of the Afgháns, and fearing lest Wazír Khán should act treacherously towards himself he kept his eye on him. The two brothers,[2] having by means of messages sent backwards and forwards between them determined on flight, and fixed a time, on the night appointed the one fled from the Khán Zamán, and the other parted company with Bahádur Khán, and went 3 *cosses* distance going in the direction of Ágra and Mánikpúr. Then Bahádur Khán pursued after Áçaf Khán, and between Jounpúr and Mánikpúr a sharp fight took place between the two parties. Áçaf Khán was taken prisoner and Bahádur Khán had him put into the *houda* of an elephant, and set off. Meanwhile Wazír Khán from Jounpúr arrived at the place whither they were taking his brother, and Bahádur Khán's men being scattered in quest of booty, he could not withstand him, so Bahádur Khán gave orders for Áçaf Khán to be put to death, as he was, in the *houda*. He received a sword-cut on his nose, and two or three of his fingers (P. 88) were cut off, but Wazír Khán managed to release him before he had received further injury, and the two brothers made for Garha, and Bahádur Khán returned foiled. Wazír Khán arrived at the confines of Láhór, just at the time that the Emperor, having gone in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥakím, had turned aside to enjoy a *qamurgha*-hunt,[3] and at the intercession of Muzaffar Khán he was allowed to do homage, and a *farmán* gracious in its wording was issued to Áçaf Khán.

In this year Mírza Muḥammad Ḥakím came to Láhór. The cause of it was that, when Mírzá Sulaimán returned the third time from Kábul, and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím had got possession of Kábul, and had dismissed the imperial Amirs to Hindústán, and Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshabandí had become absolute Prime-minister,[4] and the Khán Kalán was enraged thereat, then Mírzá Sulaimán, finding the field for the fourth time clear, in company with his wife Walí Ni'mat Bégum, hastened to Kábul, and laid seige to it. And Mírzá

[1] Continued from p. 85.

[2] Wazir Khán, and Áçaf Khán.

[3] Compare p. 93 note 3.

[4] See page 72, l. 18.

Muḥammad Ḥakím entrusting Kábul to Ma'çúm Kokah (who afterwards raised rebellion, and was the mover of sedition in Hindústán, and was a man of great courage), himself with Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshbandí went to the river Ghorband.[1] And Mírzá Sulaimán, when he found that he could not take Kábul by force of arms, by many artifices contrived to convey Walí Ni'mat Bégum to Qarábágh (which is 10 *cosses* distant from Kábul, and in the neighbourhood of the Ghorband). There she brought forward proposals of peace, and took solemn and awful oaths:[2] and Mírzá [Muḥammad Ḥakím] set out to meet her with a small escort. Khwájah Ḥasan also approved of this conciliatory interview, but Báqí Qaqshál was not pleased with the matter and said: "This woman is a thorough deceiver, and is not fit to be trusted:"—

"Go not out of the way for any blandishments of Fortune
For this old woman
As a deceiver she sits down, and as a traitress
She moves about."

Then Mírzá Sulaimán before Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím arrived at Qarábágh, came by forced marches (P. 89) from Kábul with a considerable force, and lay in ambush in that neighbourhood. It happened that some of the soldiers of Mírzá Sulaimán met with the men of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and gave him information of this. So Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím fled, and when he got to Ghorband he became bewildered and fell by mistake into the road to the Hindúkash[3] mountain. Khwájah Ḥasan wished to bring him to Pír Muḥammad Khán Uzbek, governor of Balkh, in order to ask his assistance. But Báqí Qáqshál prevented this, and brought the Mírzá in the direction of the Capital by way of Panjhar[4] to Jalálábád and thence to the bank of the river Níláb, till eventually he crossed the river Sind,[5] and sent a despatch to the Court. Khwájah Ḥasan with his party arrived at *Balkh*, and after some time he became lost, and his life became bitter (*Talkh*) to him:—

[1] To the north of Kábul.

[2] That she was acting in good faith.

[3] Means 'Hindu-slayer,' and is so called because slaves brought thither from India die from the intensity of the cold. Lee's *Ibn Batuta*, p. 97.

[4] Panshar.

[5] The Indus.

"My heart is gone, my soul is fled, my religion lost,
O Ḥasan! worse than this what can I become!"

Mírzá Sulaimán pursued Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákím as far as Kótal-sanjad-darra, and took prisoners some stragglers of his army, and having plundered[1] his baggage, still remained on that spot.

Meanwhile during his prolonged absence Muḥammad Ma'çúm of Kábul attacked Sulaimán's camp, and spoiled it, and defeated his general Qulí Shaghálí, and after this decisive victory proceeded to lay seige to Chaharbágh. Then Mírzá Sulaimán sent Qází Khán Badakshí as ambassador to incite Muḥammad Ma'çúm to terms of peace. This Muḥammad Ma'çúm at first refused, but he could not withstand the persuasions of Qází Khán, because he had been his tutor, and so Mírzá [Sulaimán] received from him a small bribe, for mere form's sake, and returned to Badakhshán.

Now, before Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím's messenger could arrive at the Court, the Emperor had received news of the disturbances at Kábul, and had sent by the hand of a state-messenger Khúshkhabar Khán a saddle, a bridle adorned with jewels, and precious things of Hindústán, and a substantial sum of money to Mírzá,[2] (P. 90) together with a reassuring *farmán*, promising him the assistance of the Amirs of the Panjáb. Mírzá [Muḥammad Ḥakím] hastened to meet the envoy, and fully intended to come [to Court], when Farídún Khán, his maternal uncle whom the Emperor had sent from Nagarchín to bring the disturbance to an end, suddenly arrived, and immediately on his arrival tried to seduce the Mírzá into rebellion, and so changed the aspect of affairs :—

"When the medicine is the cause of the disease, what hope is there
Of the cure of the disease, or of the recovery of the sick man?"

And Ḥasan Khán, brother of Shaháb Khán, who was at Kábul and one Sulṭán 'Alí, a scribe who had fled from Hindústán and was waiting for something to turn up, joined with Farídún Khán in representing to the Mírzá that it would be very easy to capture Láhór.

[1] For *táj* read *táráj*.

[2] Muḥammad Ḥakím.

Then, when he agreed to their rebellious proposals, they tried to induce him to seize the person of Khúshkhabar Khán. But the Mírzá through that generosity, which was inherent in his nature, sent privately for him, and dismissed him. But eventually this very year, when the Emperor was *qamurgha*[1]-hunting in the neighbourhood of Láhór, Khúshkhabar Khán was drowned in the river Ráwí and a clever fellow extemporised this verse :—

" *Khushkhabar*[2] is bad news, for never was there
In the world such an ugly fellow as he,
He died in the water, although they say :
And from the water all things live."[3]

But Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím with rebellious intentions went into the neighbourhood of Behra, and set his hand (which was never ready for political affairs) to spoiling and plundering the district. Then, setting out for Láhór, he came by forced marches, and encamped in the garden of Mahdí Qásim Khán, which was situate outside the city on the banks of the river Ráwí. And Fate in an improptu of his, said :—

(P. 91) " Since at this point I leave you as you are,
It hardly matters that we came so far."

And Mír Muḥammad Khán, and all the Atkah-kháns[4] with their *posse comitatus* came into the fortress, and however much Mírzá attacked it, they so repulsed him that they gave him no opportunity to formally invest it. Now, when the reports from the Amírs reached the Emperor, he, leaving Ágrah in charge of the Khán-khánán,[5] and Muzaffar Khán, on the 3rd of Jamádi-l-awwal[6] of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974) marched on the Panjáb by way of Dihlí and Sirhind. And Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím on the mere hearing of this news, without effecting anything, went back to Kábul by the way by which he had come :—

[1] Compare next page, and text, pp. 354, 421.

[2] Means ' good-news.'

[3] Al Qur'án XLI, 31 " And we made from the water every living thing."

[4] That is, to relatives of *Shamsu-d-dín Muhammad Atkah*.

[5] *Mu'ním Khán*.

[6] The fifth month of the Muḥammadan year.

"He that cannot seize the skirt of Fortune by might,
His bootless effort is like dyeing the eyebrows of the blind."

And Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, and Kamál Khán G'hakkar were appointed to go from Láhór in pursuit of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím. They went a certain distance and then turned back to Behra.

At this time a letter came from Muḥammad Báqí Tarkhán bin Mírzá Muḥammad 'Isá,[1] ruler of the district of Sindh, containing assurance of his own loyalty, and complaints of the attacks of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, the governor of Bakkar, on the province of Sindh and Láhór. Accordingly a *farmán* was sent to Sulṭán Maḥmúd touching the complaints of Muḥammad Báqí.

During the stay at Láhór a letter came from the Khánkhánán saying that Ulugh Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá, in whose jágír were the parganna of Nahtnúr (?) a dependency of Sambhal, and A'zampúr, had, in conjunction with their uncles Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá,[2] with rebellious designs seized some of the government pargannas; but that, on his going in pursuit of them, (P. 92) they had fled to Málwa.

At this time the Emperor held a *Qamurgha*-hunt[3] at about five *cosses* from Láhór. For a space of 40 *cosses* in every direction they drove the wild game together in a circle, and day by day they contracted the circle, till it became as narrow as the mouth of the fair:—

"The compass drew so narrow the figure of that mouth,
That the circumference of the circle coincided with the centre."

About 15,000 wild animals of various kinds were counted in that arena. The nobles, and afterwards the people generally, were permitted to join in the sport. Afterwards the whole party gave rein to their horses, and dashed into the river Ráwí to swim across, and all the courtiers, with the exception of one or two, of which number

[1] A direct descendant of Chingíz Khán. See *Blochm.* 361.

[2] See above, p. 85 T. note; and Elliot V. 315.

[3] A Turkí word denoting a great *battue;* De Courteille merely calls it *lieu de chasse.*

was Khúskhabar Khán (as has been already mentioned),[1] got safely across. Now, while the *Qamurgha*-hunt was going on, Muzaffar Khán arrived with Vazír Khán from Ágra, and the Emperor wrote a *farmán* entrusting to Áçaf Khán and Majnún Khán the joint guardianship of the districts of Karrah and Mánikpúr—on which subject[2] many a poem was composed.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Khán Zamán, Bahádur Khán, and Sikandar Khán had broken faith and were in open rebellion: and that they had sent persons to fetch Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and had had the audacity to read the *khutbah*, and to strike coin in his name in the district of Jounpúr. And Mulá Ghazálí, a poet of Mashhid, composed this verse:—

"In the name of the gracious and merciful God,
Muḥammad Ḥakím is the heir of a kingdom."

On hearing this news the Emperor confided Mírzá Mírák Razawí, the Khán Zamán's lieutenant, to the custody of Ján Báqí Khán, and entrusting the charge of the affairs of the Panjáb to (P. 95) Kháni Kalán, and the whole *Atgah* family,[3] on the 12th of the blessed month of Ramzán in the year 974 started for Ágra, and went to the fort of T'hánésar,[4] which has been from time immemorial a haunt of infidels. At the lake [called] *Kurk'hét*,[5] which is an assembly place of Kurus and Pándus,[6] (curse on them!) more than 4,000 years ago, according to the opinion of the Hindus, seven or eight hundred millions of persons were killed in a tumult (and they went by way of water to hell-fire). And now every year there is a great assembly there, and the Hindu people, at that place of worship, give away both privately and publicly, gold and silver, and

[1] P. 92.

[2] *Viz.* Akbar's clemeucy towards Áçaf Khán and Vazír Khán.

[3] See p. 49, note 4.

[4] Sanscrit *Sthaneçwara*, meaning 'Lord of the place.' It is a town about 100 miles from Dihlí, where there is a temple of *Mahadeo*.

[5] Sanscrit *Kurukshetra*, *i. e.*, Kuru-battlefield

[6] Abu-l-Fazl, according to Sir H. Elliot, V. 318 *note*, calls the sects 'Gurs and Puris.'

jewels, and linen, and valuable goods: and in accordance with that which has been said, [*viz.*] :—

"Do a good action, and cast into the water :"

they secretly cast gold coins into the water. And bodies of Jogí-s and Sannyásí-s, who are the Hindu devotees, are in the habit of fighting there in their bigotry. On this occasion their fight made a grand show. A number of the imperial soldiers, in accordance with a command from the Emperor, having rubbed their bodies well with ashes,[1] went and fought on the side of the Sannyásí-s (who were scarcely 300 men, while the Jogí-s were more than 500). But for all that many were slain on either side. At last the Sannyásí-s came off victorious.

When the imperial camp was pitiched at Dihlí, Mírzá Mírak Razawí escaping from Khán Báqí Khán, in whose charge he was imprisoned, fled and joined his employer.[2] Then Khán Báqí Khán went in pursuit of him for some distance, but eventually, through fear of punishment, attached himself to the insurgents :—

'As for him who became a tale,
His tale never came back again.'

While the Emperor was still at Dihlí, Sháh Fakhr-ud-dín Mashhadí,[3] upon information received from Tátár Khán, commandant of Dihlí, and in accordance with the Emperor's orders, brought Shaháb Khán Turkomán (who held the parganna of Bhójpúr in fief, and with whom Amín Díwána,[4] having escaped from Láhór, had taken refuge, and, having been supplied by him with a horse and pecuniary assistance, had gone off (P. 94) to join the rebels) to Court, where he was executed.

[1] In order to disguise themselves, and look like Sannyási-s.

[2] In the 10th year he came to Court to obtain pardon for Alí Qulí Khán, Khán Zamán. When the latter rebelled again, in the 12th year, Mírzá Mírak Razawí was imprisoned.

[3] Son of Mír Qásim, a Músawí Sayyid of Mashhad. He came in 961, with Humáyún, to India. Blochm. 406.

[4] He had been imprisoned for attempting the life of one of the Imperial Generals. Elliot, V. 319.

When the Emperor arrived at Ágra, news came that Khán Zamán, was beseiging Mírzá Yúsuf Khán Mashhadí,[1] who had shut himself up in Shergaṛh (which is generally known by the name of Qannouj). Upon the receipt of the intelligence, leaving the Khán-khánán in charge of Ágra, the Emperor on the 26th[2] of Shavvál,[3] in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), marched towards Jounpúr. And the weather was so hot that the marrow of creatures melted in their bones :—

> 'The air again was so hot that, even in running water,
> The crab through heat laid its breast on the ground,
> Even the moist river, from the mouth of which water ever flows,
> Through fever became dry-lipped, like a bilious person.'

And when the town of Sakít had became the camping-place of the imperial army, news came in that Khán Zamán had raised the siege [of Shergaṛh], and fled towards Mánikpúr, where was his brother Bahádur Khán. Accordingly, from the town of Bhojpúr the Emperor detached a body of 6,000 veteran troopers under the command of Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, Muzaffar Khán, Rája Todar Mal, Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khán and Ḥusain Khán (who at that time had arrived from Satwás) to march towards Oudh to oppose Sikandar. At first Munçúr Khán was appointed to lead the vanguard of this division of the imperial army; but, since he had arrived in a most deplorable and poverty-stricken state, on account of the protracted seige he had sustained in the fortress [of Satwás],[4] he went to the parganna of Shamsábád to obtain supplies for his army, and found it so refreshing that some little delay took place in his rejoining the army: consequently Qiyá Khán was appointed in his place.

The author was with the aforesaid Khán on this occasion. And when he passed on from Shamsábád, I remained in that town. (P. 95) The following is one of the marvels, which took place there, to which a number of trustworthy inhabitants of that city

[1] Son of Mír Aḥmad i Razawí. He was a great favourite with Akbar.
[2] The Ṭabaqát i Akbarí has 'Monday the 23rd.' Elliot, V. 319.
[3] The 10th month.
[4] See above, p. 87.

ERRATA.

p. 4, l. 12 *dele* [*i. e.* Mecca].
p. 10, note 3. *For* b. II *read* l. 11.
p. 24, note 3. *Instead of* "Probably the *Díván-i-Ḥáfiz*, for" *read* Our author means the *Díván-i-Ḥáfiz*. Ouseley in his *Lives of the Persian Poets* says that the terms *lisán-i-ghaib*, and *tarjumán-ul-asrár* were first applied to Ḥáfiz by Jámí.
p. 32, note 1. *For* Najad *read* Najd.
p. 53, l. 17. *For* satyr *read* satire.
p. 68, ll. 2—6. *Read* And another instance of Chingiz Khán's liberality is the following: Sháh 'Árif Çafaví Ḥusainí (who is now at Láhor, and renowned for the gift of dominion over *Jinns*) possessed great treasures, which he used to give away to people. Now it is said, that he had received all these treasures and hoards from Chingiz Khán, and that all the money he gave away bore the stamp of Chingiz Khán (but God knows !).

niatreo a no ,taht ,beneppah ti siht erofed syab wef A .ssentiw erod night, a boy of tender age, belonging to a washerman, fell asleep on a couch on the banks of the river Ganges. Suddenly he fell into the river, and the strong stream carried him as far as the town of Bhojpúr (which is 10 *cosses* distant), and landed him safely on the bank. A relative of the washerman took out the child, and recognizing it, brought it back in the morning to its mother and father:—

'He is the Absolute Omnipotent,
Who ruleth as He wills,
He is, in truth, the Judge,
Who acteth, as it pleaseth Him.'

And, when the imperial camp was pitched at the town of Rái Barélí, news arrived that Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán had crossed the river Ganges and fled towards Kálpí. Consequently the Emperor, directing that the camp, under Khwájah Jahán, should be moved on towards Karah, set off with all speed for Mánikpúr. Mounted upon an elephant he crossed the stream, and at that time there were not with him more than fifteen or sixteen[1] persons. And Majnún Khán, and Áçaf Khán, who were in the vanguard, kept from time to time sending back information concerning the whereabouts of the enemy.

It so happened that Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán, over whose eyes Fate had drawn the blinding iron of negligence, in accordance with the following:—

'When Fate[2] lets down its wings from the sky,
All the prudent become blind and deaf'—

had spent the whole night at a wine-party, and in watching an exhibition of Pátar-dancing,[3] and, their cup being full, they looked on the intelligence of the enemy's advance, which the scouts kept bringing in, as merely an act of rashness on the part of Majnún[4]

[1] The Ṭabaqát i Akbarí, according to Elliot, p. 320, says 1,000 to 1,500 men.

[2] *Viz.*, The Decree of Death: *Dira Necessitas.* With these lines compare the well-known saying: *Quos deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

[3] *Pátar*, in Hindústání means a dancing girl.

[4] He was the fief-holder (*zamíndár*) of Mánikpúr.

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Khán (for which they cared no more, than for a measure stuffed with straw); but, as for the Emperor's approach, they had no intimation of it, and indeed never dreamt of such a thing.

On this day the Emperor was mounted on an elephant named *Sundar*,[1] and (P. 96) he placed Mírzá Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khán in the *houda* with him. He took up his station in the centre, and placed Áçaf Khán, and all the Atkas,[2] on the right, and Majnún Khán, and others, on the left. Now the Khán Zamán had given orders for his army to march in the morning. But sunk, as he was, in sleep and the wine, which he had drunk, he was wakened only by the Messenger of Fate. Then, by the exhibition of standards and paraphernalia of majesty, and the glory of the cavalcade, and the pompous beating of kettle-drums, he became certain that the Emperor in person was with the army. Accordingly, he ordered his troops to fall in, and began to draw up his lines. First he dispatched a body of renowned heroes, veterans in service, to oppose the advance of the vanguard of the imperial army. But Bábá Khán Qáqshál, who was leader of the van, with a well-directed shower of arrows repulsed them, and drove them back on the Khán Zamán. At this moment one of the horses of the fugitives rushed with terrific force against the horse of the Khán Zamán, so that through the concussion his turban became loosened from his head, and caught him round the neck like a lasso. At the sight of this occurrence [his brother] Bahádur Khán, planting firmly the foot of desperation, charged Bábá Khán with such fury, that he compelled him to retreat, and sweeping him before him, bore him back on the ranks of Majnún Khán. Then Majnún Khán, and Bahádur Khán, who had returned to the thick of the fray from the pursuit of fugitives, fell upon one another, and showed great courage. But an arrow struck the horse of Bahádur Khán, which reared and threw him to the ground, so that he was taken prisoner:—

'When the key of victory is not in the hand,
One cannot open the door of victory by force.'

[1] From Sanscrit *sundara*, beautiful.

[2] See above, p. 92, *note* 4.

At this juncture the Emperor dismounted from his elephant, and got on horse-back, and ordered that the troop of mountain-formed elephants should charge the ranks of the Khán Zamán : and then the fortune of the day began to waver, and the signs of victory began to decide in the Emperor's favour :—

'The sword of kings doth show such marks,
The great do such deeds as beseem them,
Look at a king's sword, read not the annals of the past,
For, more sooth-saying is his sword—much !'

(P. 97). And an elephant, Híránand by name, on the side of the imperial army, charged an elephant, named Oudyá, on the enemy's side, and came with such force against the head of that animal, that it felled it to the ground. And midst this hubbub and confusion, an arrow struck the horse of the Khán Zamán ; and, while he was in the act of pulling it out, another arrow struck it, and it reared up and the Khán Zamán fell to the ground. At this moment an elephant-driver, riding on an elephant named Narsingh, came up ; and, although the Khán Zamán kept saying to him : 'I am a great leader, take me alive to the king, and you will get a great reward,' the elephant-driver would not listen, but drove on his elephant, which crushed him with its trunk and feet, and ground his bones to powder, and made his body like a bag full of chess-pieces :—

'The huge-form of elephants dashed [him] crushed to the ground,
An earthquake threw [him] on the surface of the earth :
Through all these tusks, which were weighers-out of evil,
The face of the ground became a [strewed] chess-board.'

After that the turmoil of battle had subsided, Nazar Bahádur made Bahádur Khán ride behind him on the same horse, and brought him to the Imperial Presence.[1] The Emperor did not wish to put him to death, but asked him : 'Bahádur how are you.' He replied, 'Praise is due to God in all circumstances.' And when he asked for

[1] The word for 'Presence' is *Nazar*, with a play on the name Nazar Bahádur.

water, the Emperor gave him some out of his own canteen.[1] But the Amírs did not deem it advisable to spare his life, so they brought about his execution.

And after a time the head of the Khán Zamán was also brought in. And for some time there was a dispute, as to whether it were the Khán Zamán's or no. At this juncture a petty Hindú Ráy, Khán Zamán's *wakíl*, who was of the number of the prisoners, took up the head, and, putting it upon his own, began to lament: 'Alas! alas!' And Khwájah Daulat a eunuch, who had once been in Khán Zamán's service, and had afterwards given in his adhesion to the Emperor, and had attained the title of Daulat Khán, said: "The way to find out whether the head is really that of Khán Zamán (P. 98) is this. He used always to chew betel-leaf on the right side [of his mouth], consequently his teeth on the right side will be black." And so they found them. These affairs took place in the twelfth year of the reign, on the Monday in the first week of the month Zí-ḥijjah[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), in the neighbourhood of the village of Maakarwál, one of the dependencies of Pairag[3] now known as Aláhábás. And some, who had formerly thought good to accept service under Khán Zamán, and had therefrom sucked no small advantage, found this *mnemosynon* for the date of his death:—

"When Khán Zamán from the world went to the winds,
The pillar of the sky fell down head over heels,
The date of his death I asked of Wisdom; he said:
Heaven having lost its support, raised a cry of despair."[4]

[1] This word, which is not found in our Dictionaries, recurs at p. 238, l. 8 *infra* of the Text It may be connected with the Hindustani *Karú'á* (Sanscrit *Karaka*) 'an earthen pipkin.' Or it may have been borrowed, by some means or other, from the Mahratti, in which there is a word *Karoṭí* 'a vessel made of cocoa-nut shell.'

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] *Prayága* was a holy place on the *left* bank of the Ganges, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Jhusí. It was never a *city* until Akbar made it such, and then not on the left, but on the *right* bank, under the name *Aláhábás* or *ábád*.

[4] The numerical values of the letters of this line are 80 + 200 + 10 + 1 + 4 + 7 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 30 + 20 + 12 + 2 + 50 + 11 + 4 = 975, which is one too many.

And some others with reference to the rebellion of that party said :—

"*The slaughter of two traitors to the salt, without religion.*"[1]

And this date falls short of the correct number by one. And Qásim Arslán was the author of it. And another was said :—

'The slaughter of 'Alí Qulí and Bahádur.'
O my Soul! ask not me, helpless, how it came about!
I asked of the Old-man Intellect "What was the year of their death ?"
He heaved a sigh from his heart, and said : "*Two became blood.*"[2]

And of the number of the captives[3] slain [after] that battle was Mírzá Khúshḥál Bég, whom I myself had seen at an assembly in the army of Málwah, in company with Adham Khán and Pír Muḥammad Khán. And, verily, the appearance of the beauty of his person and disposition was by way of being perfection, and the impression of it will never pass away from my heart. The date of his death was found as follows :—

"Khúshḥal, who was the eye of the men of wisdom,
Through the baneful influence of his star revolted from the King,
When he was slain in company with Khán Zamán,
The date came out : *Rose-cheeked, fair-formed.*"[4]

(P. 99). In this year that paragon of the age Mír Murtazá Sharíf Shírází left this deceitful caravansarai.[5] And at first he was buried at Dihlí, in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Mír Khusrau[6]

[1] This line gives 100 + 400 + 30 + 8 + 50 + 40 + 20 + 8 + 200 + 41 + 12 + 14 + 50 = 973.

[2] This gives 10 + 600 + 56 + 300 + 4 + 5 = 975, which is one too many.

[3] See Text, p. 100, and Elliot, V. 322.

[4] 20 + 30 + 200 + 600 + 7 + 10 + 3 + 104 = 974.

[5] The world.

[6] A great poet of Dihlí.

(mercy upon him!) But afterwards, when the Çadr,[1] and Qází, and Shaikh-ul-Islám represented to His Majesty that Mír Khusrou was a native of India, and a Sunní, while Mír Murtazá was a native of 'Iráq and a heretic,[2] and that consequently Mír Khusrou would be very much annoyed by his company; for there can be no doubt, but that:—

"To the spirit the presence of the base is a fearful torment"—

the Emperor gave orders, that they should take him up from that place, and bury him elsewhere. And this was a great act of injustice to both of them, as cannot be denied. And some one found out the date of the Mír to be contained in the following:—*Knowledge has deserted the knowing.* And another combined exactly the same letters into the following:—*The paragon has left the world.*[3]

And in this year one of the friends of the Author, Shaikh Abu-l-Fatḥ by name, brother of Shaikh Sa'd u-lláh, son of Shaikh Badah, who was one of the most powerful nobles of the Court, passed from the world. And his date was found to be:—

"Ab-ul-Fatḥ, that eye of mankind, behold him!
For in this revolving sphere you will never see his like,
When he went from the world, the date of his death
Seek in the words: *Repository of excellencies.*"[4]

And among the circumstances of this time is the following: Mírzá Nizám-ud-Dín Aḥmad (mercy on him!) who was an intimate companion of the Author, and who had a boundless and extreme predilection for myself, said to me personally (and it is written, moreover, in the *Tarikhi Nizámí*),[5] that when, during the time of the rebellion and hostility of Khán Zamán, news-mongers, and especially drug and opium takers, used every day in Dihlí to spread gloomy reports, one

[1] Apparently *Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí;* See p. 71, Text.'

[2] That is a *Shí'ah*, or follower of 'Alí.

[3] 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 7 + 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 200 + 8 + 400 + 5 = 974.

[4] 80 + 800 + 11 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 2 + 10 = 974.

[5] That is the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*. See Elliot, V. 321.

day, when they were sitting three or four friends together, it came into his mind to say ‘ What (P. 100) think you, if we were with one consent to spread a report, that they are now bringing in the heads of Khán Zamán, and Bahádur Khán ?’ Accordingly they told this news to several persons, so that it became a common rumour. And on that very day, on which this news was spread abroad in Ágra, Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán were actually slain, and the third day one named ’Abd-u-lláh, the son of Murád Bég, brought their heads to Ágra, and thence carried them to Dihlí, Láhor, and Kábul :—

“ Many an omen that’s uttered in play,
When Fate so decrees, comes true on that day.”

And the Emperor, after this victory, would not at first trust any of those who had been led into rebellion by that fellow. He proceeded to Alláhábás, and seizing some who had fled from the Court and joined themselves to the rebellious party, he delivered them over to keepers. And Mírzá Mírak Razawí[1] who had fled from Dihlí, he had thrown under the feet of an elephant, but the elephant only gave him a few rubs with his trunk, so the Emperor, with a view to pleasing the Sayyids,[2] pardoned him. But some others of the inciters of rebellion he brought to execution, and ‘ *What bloodshed took place !*’[3] was found to give the date. And to some of the people of the Khán Zamán, who had advanced far on the road to despair, he granted their lives.

After two days he went to Banáras, and thence to Jounpúr, and remained three days in that city. Then in the course of three or four days, with four or five persons accompanying him, he arrived with great expedition at the banks of the river Ganges, at the ford of Karah and Mánikpúr, where was the camp of the imperial army.[4] He crossed over the river in a boat, and alighted at the fort of Karah.

[1] The Khán Zamán’s *Wakíl*, Text, p. 92.

[2] He was a Sayyid of Mashhad.

[3] 3 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 6 + 300 + 4 = 974.

[4] P. 95, Text.

And with regard to killing those of Khán Zamán's party, who have been taken prisoners, when Qází Ṭawáísí (the camp-Qází, who was endued with the qualities of honesty, truth-speaking, and trustworthiness) represented to His Majesty that to kill these people, after the battle was over, and to confiscate their goods and chattels, would not be in accordance with the Holy Law, the Emperor was displeased with him, and (P. 101) chose and appointed in his stead Qází Y ú'qúb, an inhabitant of Dihlí (who was renowned for his profound knowledge of legal matters, and was son-in-law of Qází Fazílat[1] Shérsháhí, whom they used to term Qází Fazíḥat, and who, for all that, was never at a loss for good sayings, and jokes). He held this office for ten years, when he was superseded, and Qází Jalál-ud-dín Multání was appointed in his stead, as will be narrated in its place, if God, (He is exalted !) will :—

"Put not thy foot into any office, lest thou
Become the butt of placing, and displacing."

Meanwhile the Khán Khánán, who before this had received a *farmán* summoning him from Ágrah, arrived at Court and did homage. The Emperor gave him all the *jágírs* of Bahádur Khán and Khán Zamán, from Jounpúr and Banáres as far as Gházípúr and the fortress of Chunar and Zanániyah to the ford of the river Júsah, and having presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, dismissed him to his *jágírs*. In Zí-ḥijjah[2] of the aforesaid year in the midst of the rainy season the Emperor set out, and in Muḥarram[3] in the year nine hundred and seventy-five (975) his Majesty alighted at the Capital.

In this year Muḥammad Qulí Khán Bartás, and Muzaffar Khán, and the force which had been sent against Sikandar Uzbek in Oudh, blockaded him in that fort, and every day skirmishes took place. When news of the death of Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán came to his ears, he utterly lost heart. First he laid before the Amír's proposals of peace, and having engaged them in negotiations, he

[1] *Fazílat* means 'excellence,' by the change of one letter it becomes *Fazíḥat* infamy.'

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] The first month.

embarked in a boat and crossed over to the other side of the river Sarw. Then, still treating for peace, he requested that some of the Amírs would put off alone from their side, and he himself with three or four persons put off from the other side in a boat, and the treaty and oath was confirmed on both sides, and it was agreed that they should bring him to the Court; but afterwards (P. 102) he would not abide by the terms, but went off to among the Afgháns. The Amírs pursued him as far as Gorák'hpúr, and then wrote a statement of the case to Court: and, when they received a *farmán* ordering them to repair to the Court, they hastened thither, leaving Muḥammad Qulí Barlás in Oudh.

And in this year the intention was formed of reducing the fortress of Chiṭor. Accordingly the Emperor took away Biyána from Ḥájí Muḥammad Khán Sístání, and gave it as *jágír* to Áçaf Khán; and Basáwar and Wazírpúr Mandalgaṛh he also gave to him, on the understanding that he should proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor set out after him, and travelling by way of Bárí and hunting in Mou-maidánah, proceeded thence towards Súpar. The subjects of Ráí Sargún evacuated the fort of Súpar, and Nazar Bahádur was appointed commandant of that fort, and Sháh Muḥammad Khán Qandahárí to hold the fort of Kotah Baláyah. When the Emperor arrived at the fort of Kákarún, having given to Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán and Sháh Bidágh Khán *jágírs* in the district of Málwah, he appointed them to quell the disturbances caused by the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭán, *viz.* Mírzá Ulugh and Sháh Mírzá, who had fled thither from Sambhal. When the Amírs reached Ujjain, the Mírzás hearing the said news left that country, and went to Gujrát to Changíz Khán a follower of Sulṭán Maḥmúd. Thus Málwah fell into the hands of the Amírs without their striking a blow. And Ráná Udai Sing, committing the keeping of the fortress of Chiṭor to one Ráí Jaimal by name (a brave and chivalrous commander, who had been beseiged by Mírzá Sharfuddín Ḥusain in the fortress of Mirt'hah and had cut his way out), himself took refuge in the high mountain ground and impassable jungles in the neighbourhood of Udaipúr Komalmair. Áçaf Khán marched to Rámpúr, which is an inhabited district in that region, (P. 103) and took the fortress by storm,

and ravaged the district. And Ḥusain Qulí Khán marched towards Udaipúr, and ravaged the environs; but the Ráná left that place for some other maze-like mousehole.

The Emperor ordered *Sábáṭs*[1] and trenches to be constructed, and gradually brought close to the walls of the fortress. The width of the Sábáṭ was such that ten horsemen could easily ride abreast in it, and its height was so great that a man on an elephant with spear in hand could pass under it. Many of the men of our army were killed by musket and cannon balls, and the bodies of the dead were made use of instead of bricks and stones. After a length of time the *Sábáṭ* and trenches were brought up to the foot of the fortress, and they undermined two towers which were close together, and filled the mines with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred approached the towers, and waited till the towers should fall, and then they would enter the fortress. By accident, though the two mines were fired at one and the same moment, the fuze of one, which was shorter than the other took effect soonest, and the fuze of the latter, which was longer, hung fire, so that one of the two towers was blown up from its foundations and heaved into the air, and a great breach was made in the castle. Then the forlorn hope in their impetuosity forgetting the second mine stormed the breach at once, and soon effected a lodging. While the hand-to-hand struggle was going on, suddenly the second fuze went off and blew the other tower, which was full, both of friends and foes, from its place and lifted it into the air. The soldiers of Islám were buried under stones, some of 100, and some of 200 *man* in weight, and the stony-hearted infidels in like manner flew about like moths in that flood of fire. Those stones were blown as far as three or four *cosses*, and a cry of horror arose from the people of Islám and from the infidels :—

(P. 104) "This stream flowed to Paradise, that to Hell,
Though the blood of Guebre and of an unbeliever both flowed in one place."

[1] A Sábáṭ is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks, strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way is conducted to the fortress. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí.* Elliot V, 326.

And a happy day was it for the vultures and crows
(Glory to Him who multiplieth food for his creatures !)

Nearly five hundred warriors, most of them personally known to the Emperor, were slain, and drank the draught of martyrdom: and of the Hindús who can say how many! Night by night the infidels mustering in force kept building up the wall of the fortress from the ruins of these towers.

After waiting a considerable time, six months more or less, at last on the night of Tuesday 25th of Sha'bán[1] in the aforesaid year the Imperial troops advancing from all sides, made a breach in the wall of the fortress, and stormed it. The fierce face of Jaimal became visible through the flashing of the fire of the cannon and guns, which was directed against the soldiers of Islám. At this juncture a bullet struck the forehead of Jaimal, who was distinctly recognizable, and he fell dead. It was as though a stone had fallen among a flock of sparrows, for, when the garrison of the fortress saw that their leader was dead, they fled every one to their own houses. Then they collected their families and goods together and burnt them, which is called in the language of Hind *jouhar*. Most of those that remained became food for the crocodile of the blood-drinking sword, and a few of those who remained, who escaped the sword and the fire, were caught in the noose of tribulation. The whole night long the swords of the combatants desisted not from the slaughter of the base, and returned not to the scabbard, till the time for the afternoon *siesta* arrived. Eight thousand valorous Rájpúts were slain. The following line was found to give the date :—

"My heart said : *He quickly took Chíṭór.*"[2]

After midday the Emperor ordered the sacking to cease, and returned to the camp. He remained there three days, and wrote letters announcing the victory, and despatched them in all directions. Then, having appointed Áçaf Khán to the command of that district, on the morning of Tuesday 25th[3] of the (P. 105) aforesaid month

[1] The eighth month.

[2] 2 + 20 + 300 + 1 + 4 + 2 + 7 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 3 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 = 975.

[3] So too the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*; but there is evidently some mistake.

the victorious standards moved towards Agrah. And by way of performing a vow the Emperor walked the whole way on foot, and on Sunday 7th of the month Ramzán[1] he arrived at Ajmír. There he paid a visit to the holy mausoleum of the blessed bestower of blessings the Saint Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí (God sanctify his tomb!), and having occupied himself in alms, and good and pious works, after ten days he rode off towards the capital. And Mír 'Alá'uddoulah[2], author of the "Biography of the Poets", made this mnemosynon :—

"The Sháh cherishing the Faith, enthroned like Jamshíd,
The Khusrou of his age, Muḥammad Akbar,
Made, without doubt, for the conquest of Chíṭór
A mortar brazen-bodied, dragon-faced.
For the date there came from the unseen world [the voice] :
'It was altogether *a Chíṭór taking mortar*[3]'."

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Alwar[4] he took to lion-hunting. And 'Ádil Muḥammad Khán, son of Sháh Muḥammad Khán Qandahárí, who was himself as brave as a lion, went to face the animal [which was rushing upon the Emperor], and both he and the beast were killed. Then the Emperor separated himself from the camp, and went to Nárnoul. There he visited Shaikh Nizám Nárnoulí (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs), and in the fulness of his faith granted him a subsidy, and then continued his journey to the capital. In this year the second marriage of the Author took place at Badáón, and in accordance with: "And verily the latter is better for thee than the former[5]" it turned out

[1] The ninth month.

[2] Qazwíní, with the *nom de plume* Kámí. This book contains notices of about 350 poets most of them flourishing in India during the reign of Akbar. It was begun in 973 A. H., and completed according to a Postcript in 979. But there occur much later dates in it. Sprenger, *Catalogue &c.*, I, 46. Perhaps the Author originally completed his work in 979, but continued to add to it from time to time.

[3] 5 + 10 + 20 + 3 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 + 20 + 301 = 975.

[4] Compare p. 6 note 5.

[5] Al Qur'án XCIII, 4, where however the meaning is: "And verily the Future shall be better for thee than the Present."

most happily, thanks to God !, and I composed the following *mnemosynon* :—

" When to me, through the eternal bounty,
There was union with a moon-faced one,
My intellect uttered the date of the marriage,
The Moon is in conjunction with the sun[1]."

And in this year that model of men of thought, and beau ideal of the Shaikhs who practice perfection, Shaikh 'Abdul-'azíz of Dihlí (God sanctify his spirit !) departed to the other world, and the following *mnemosynon* was recited :—

(P. 106) " The glorious one of the world Shaikh 'Abdul-'azíz,
Whom all the world calls the Pole-star of Dihlí,
Turned his cheek towards the plain of eternity,
And from this narrow defile mounted the steed of his ambition.
I enquired of my heart, what was the day,
It replied, *The Pole-star of Religion is no more*[2]."

And since the Shaikh used constantly to sign himself " The worthless atom 'Abdul-'azíz ", a clever fellow discovered the mnemosynon : *Worthless atom*[3].

In the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) the Emperor sent for the whole Atgah clan and Kamál Khán G'hakkar from the Panjáb, and gave their *jágírs* to Ḥusain Qulí Khán and his brother Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and appointed them to that district. Then Ḥusain Qulí Khán and his brother, having come from Nágor, after the taking of Rintambhor obtained permission to go to the Panjáb ; and the district of Sambhal and Barelí was confirmed to Kháni Kalán[4].

[1] 40 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 100 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 40 + 5 + 200 + 10 + 300 + 4 = 975. There seems to be a play on the words *mahr*, " marriage gift ", and *mihr* " Sun ".

[2] 100 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 50 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 4 = 975.

[3] 700 + 200 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 3 + 10 + 7 = 976. The clever fellow was evidently " one too many for him " !

[4] Muḥammad Khán Atgah.

In this year the Mírzás, the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭán Mírzá, who had gone to Gujrát, and taken refuge with Chingíz Khán, having behaved badly and laid hands of spoliation on the *jágírs*, fled from Chingíz Khán, and came to Málwah, and beseiged Muḥammad Murád Khán and Mírzá 'Azíz-ulláh of Mashhad in the fort of Ujjain. Then Ashraf Khán, *Mír Munshí* and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán, who with a considerable number of the Imperial army had been appointed to act against Rintambhor, when they heard this news, represented the matter at Court, and received orders to turn aside to Ujjain and undertake the repression of the revolt in conjunction with Qulij Khán, who had been sent after them to join in the reduction of Rintambhor. And at Sarouj Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, and at Sárangpúr Sháh Bidágh Khán formed a junction with the aforesaid Amírs, and so a very considerable force was gathered together. Then the Mírzás (P. 107) on hearing this news raised the seige of Ujjain, and went to Mandú, and the great Amírs pursued them. When the Mírzás had crossed the river Narbaddah, they received news that Jahjar Khán the Abyssinian had surprised Chingíz Khán when off his guard at the open space by the gate of Aḥmadábád, and had slain him, so that Gujrát was now free to them. So the Mírzás hastened to Gujrát, and took the fort of Chámpánír at the first assault. And laying seige to the fort of Bhroj, after some time they managed by a ruse to capture Rastam Khán Rúmí, who was shut up in that fortress, and put him to death, and also took possession of the fortress. Qulij Khán, and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán, and the other great Amirs, returned from the banks of the Narbaddah and came to Court; but the *jágír*-holders of Mandú remained where they were.

At the beginning of the month Rajab[1] of this year the Emperor arrived at Dihlí, and occupied himself for some days in *Qamorghah*[2] hunting in the neighbourhood of the Parganna of Pálam, and afterwards in the latter part of the month Sha'bán[3] he came by successive days marching, and invested the fort of Rintambhor. In a short

[1] The seventh month.

[2] Compare p. 93, note 3.

[3] The eighth month.

time Sábáṭs[1] were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the *Kahárs*[2], of whom there were some seven or eight hundred, drew fifteen pieces of ordnance, carrying balls of five to seven *man* in weight, by main force to the top of the hill Ran, which commands the fortress, and is mounted by so steep a path that even the foot of an ant would slip in climbing it. The first day they reduced the houses within the fort to ruins. Then Ráí Surjan, when he contemplated the disastrous loss of the fort of Chíṭor, and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate, and sent his sons Dodá and Bhoj, by the intervention of some of the *zamíndárs*, to do homage to the Emperor, and himself asked for quarter. Then Ḥusain (P. 108), Qulí Khán *Khán Jahán*, came and gave assurances to Ráí Surjan and brought him to Court. He delivered up the key of the fortress, and on Wednesday the 3rd of Shawwál[3] of the aforesaid year the fortress was taken. And "*Victory*"[4] repeated was found to give the date. Next day the Emperor with a small escort inspected the fortress in person. The fortress he gave in charge to Mihtar Khán Sulṭání. Then leaving the camp under the command of Khwájah Amíná (who is entitled *Khwájah Jahán*), and Muzaffar Khán, he gave the word to march towards Ágrah. He himself went forward alone by forced marches with the intention of performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of that dispenser of splendours Khwájah Ajmírí[5]. On Wednesday the 24th of the month Zi-lqa'dah[6] of the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) he alighted at the Imperial Capital. And Mír Fárighí, brother of Sháh Fatḥulláh Shírází, composed the following *mnemosynon* for the date of the taking of that fortress:—

"When the Rose of Victory blossomed in the garden of the king's conquest,
The announcer of the date said: *They took the fort quickly*[7]."

[1] See p. 106.

[2] A *Hindústání* word denoting "palanquin-bearers", and so used here for "porters" in general. It is a contraction of the Sanskrit *karmakára* "a hired-labourer".

[3] The tenth month.

[4] *Fath* = 80 + 400 + 8 = 488. Now 488 × 2 = 976.

[5] Mu'ínuddín Chishtí.

[6] The eleventh month.

[7] 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 50 + 4 + 7 + 6 + 4 = 976.

And Múláná Shírí[1] composed the following :—

"When by the fortune of the king the stronghold of infidelity was taken,
Shírí found its year to be: *The infidel-breaking king*[2]."

And in this year the *Hatiyapúl*[3] gate, which is a new gate of Ágrah, was completed, and the date of it is :—

"The pen of Shírí wrote as the mnemosynon :—
The Elephant-gate is without compare[4]."

Now the Emperor had had several children in succession born to him, and they had all passed away at a tender age. In this year one of the Imperial wives became with child, and he went to beg the intercession of Shaikh-ul Islám Chishtí living at Síkrí, and he left his Empress at the monastry (P. 109) of the Shaikh. Some time before this the Shaikh had foretold to him the happy birth of a son, and after some days he had gone to visit the Shaikh in expectation of the fulfilment of his promise. On account of this bond of union between them the Emperor built a lofty palace on the top of the hill of Síkrí near the monastry and ancient chapel of the Shaikh. And he laid the foundation of a new chapel, and of a high and spacious mosque of stone, so large that you would say it was a part of a mountain, and the like of which can scarce be seen in any inhabited quarter. In the space of about five years the building was finished, and he called the place Fathpúr, and he built a bazaar and baths and a gate, &c. And the Amírs, one and all, built themselves towers and keeps and lofty palaces. And the Author found the date of the commencement of the whole palace, mosque, chapel, &c. to be as follows :—

This chapel is the dome of Islám,
May God exalt the glory of its builder!

[1] See Sprenger, *Cat.* p. 59.

[2] 300 + 5 + 20 + 80 + 1 + 200 + 300 + 20 + 50 = 976.

[3] Elephant-bridge.

[4] 2 + 10 + 40 + 500 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 4 + 5 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 1 + 7 + 5 + 80 + 10 + 30 = 976.

The Spirit Gabriel gave its date :
Its like is not seen in the lands[1].

Another :—

" *The heavenly Ka'bah*[2] came down from heaven ".

And Ashraf Khán found this *mnemosynon* :—

" It is *second only to the Mosque at Mecca*[3] ".

And such was the disposition of that paragon of excellence, his Grace the Shaikh, that he allowed the Emperor to have the *entrée* of all his most private apartments, and however much his sons and nephews kept saying, " Our wives are becoming estranged from us ", the Emperor would answer " There is no dearth of women in the world, since I have made you Amírs, seek other wives, what does it matter ? "

" Either make no friendship with an elephant-driver,
Or make a house fit for an elephant ".

And among the remarkable events of this year is the story of the death of Sayyid Músá (P. 110) of Garmsír, son of Sayyid Mikrí, one of the chief Sayyids of Kálpí in the land of India. It is concisely as follows. Sayyid Músá had come to do homage to the Emperor, and by chance he became infatuated with the Hindú wife of a goldsmith, named Mohiní[4], whose beauty was like gold of purest standard, and the lasso of her pure glance attracted him as her lover, and the bond of love and attachment grew strong on both sides.

" Who is the lover, that the loved one regards not his state ?
O Khwájah it is not pain, or if it is there is a cure ".

[1] 30 + 1 + 10 + 200 + 10 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 = 976.

[2] 2 + 10 + 400 + 40 + 70 + 46 + 200 + 41 + 4 + 5 + 8 + 1 + 60 + 41 + 50 = 978.

[3] 501 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 60 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 200 + 41 = 979.

[4] Meaning in Sanskrit " Infatuating ".

When the expedition set out to Rintambhor, Sayyid Músá contrived to remain behind. He took a house within the fortress of Ágra in the vicinity of his beloved on the banks of the river Jumna, near to Mír Sayyid Jalál Mutawakkil, and his affairs tended to madness. Once or twice accompanied by trusty persons of his own he had gone outside his own house, and had fallen either into the hands of the watchman, or into the hands of some goldsmiths of her caste :—

"There is an angel on the battlement of yon round cupola,
Which draws a wall before the desire of the unfortunate."

A period of two years and four months passed, during which they were content with a glance now and then from afar, till one night Sayyid Músá, at a hint from that fascinating lady, threw a lasso, strong as the covenant of the just, and straight as the promise of the liberal, over the cupola of Mohiní's house, and climbed up like a rope-dancer, and so they spent the night together in chaste affection. A poem called *Dilfaríb*, which Sayyid Sháhí, brother of Sayyid Músá, composed, has some verses on that subject :—(P. 111).

"However much the desire of the heart was boiling,
Modesty made a proclamation : Be silent !
Before his eyes the water of life,
But not for a moment the power to drink it.
Their hearts from extreme of thirstiness fevered,
But their lips were sealed through modesty.
One place of retirement, and two persons in love,
Their hearts united, their bodies apart.
They remained two heart-inflaming wounded ones,
In the game of "united yet apart" till morning.
This is true love in my opinion,
Which has driven out of the heart all thought of desire.
When the heart is once dead through desire,
How can love take up its abode therein ?
There is not in this bewildered world
A place for love, save in the purest heart.
Love is the confidant of the pure in heart,
Love is the friend of the sorrowful.

In short, with a hundred caresses and blandishments
They opened a thousand volumes of mysteries.
And when they saw the dawn draw near,
They bade each other adieu."

But at the time of saying adieu it so happened, that the beloved rising from the pillow of sleep, bade farewell to house and home, and despising fair fame and reputation, went with her lover, as the moonlight with the moon, or the shadow with the substance, and said :—

"O thou true and faithful lover,
I am at one with thee, doubt not !
The covenant, that first I made with thee,
That covenant is the same as long as I live.
Rise that we may show a care for ourselves,
And may descend again from the roof.
That, while it is not yet known,
We may steal away before morning."

So they made off from that spot, borrowing swiftness from the wind, and speed from the water, and remained concealed for three days in the house of a trustworthy friend. Meanwhile the relatives of the lady surrounded the house of Sayyid Músá like a ring, and brought claims and litigation. And Sayyid Sháhí, the younger brother of the aforesaid Sayyid (P. 112), who has a sincere friendship for the writer of these pages, and put this story from beginning to end into verse, some of which verses have been quoted above, returned answer to them, and spent the time in 'Perhapses' and "Wouldthats." The lady was informed of that concourse, and her heart being alarmed for Sayyid Músá, lest he should come to any harm at the hands of the Governor, through stress of circumstances parted from that lover, and cheered him with the promise of meeting him again. She herself, through fear of the stain of dishonour, which might cleave to her cheek, returned to her house, and made the following excuse. She said : "On such and such a night, when sleep was firmly settled on my eyes, a person of such heart-ravishing form, that none ever sees the like of it in his dreams, took me by

the hand, and I passed from dream-land to the land of imagination, and that sleep was changed into wakefulness. And I saw distinctly that glorious form, with a crown encircled with jewels upon his head, and two wings of light upon his breast. And over me like one bewildered, confounded, he reciting a charm caused his form to pass, and caught me up on his wings and pinions, and bore me to a certain city, the description of which may perchance have been heard in some fairy-tale, and took and set me down in a high and inaccessible tower full of wonders and strange things of every kind, and in every corner of it were troops of beings of Peri-birth :—

However much that heart-ravishing place
Was, by God! a place of highest joy,
And all that troop of Ḥúri-born beauties
Was standing to do me service;
Yet on account of absence from my friends
My soul could take no rest.
I was dying with longing for my mother,
I was burning with sorrow for my brother.
Every moment in this sorrow-suffering body
Separation from my father kindled fire.
When I had spent three days in that place
In melancholy weeping and soul-burning sighs,
(P. 113) They all saw that I was very much afflicted,
Much broken down through sorrow,
They became aware of my suffering,
And they took pity on my condition.
In the same way that they brought me to that place,
And having brought me gave me over to such sorrow,
So they brought me to my own house,
And delivered me from this suffering and pain."

The silly Hindús believed this beautiful deception. But, although it would have been better to have concealed the matter, yet through spite they kept that Treasure[1] in a ring of iron serpents, and shut her up under lock and key in an upper room. Sayyid Músá through

[1] "Treasure" means "beautiful woman". Treasures are always represented as guarded by serpents. "Iron serpents" mean "chains".

separation was overcome by the catastrophe, and taking the title of 'Disgraced' suddenly took leave of the bride of his senses too :—

"Alas! that love has again tended to madness,
And drawn the line of insanity over the book of wisdom.
The first quill, which the beloved has drawn over the page of blandishment,
Has drawn the line of madness over the letter of her friend."

And, when this fact became as well-known as the sun at midday heat, and stories about it were told in every assembly, and a description of it was in every mouth, that heart-ravisher sent a message by her tire-woman, saying: I myself in the midst of a thousand troubles and annoyances, have altogether escaped from the hands and tongues of my traducers by means of such explanations and excuses, as women know how to make :—

"From the reproach of the people of my time I have escaped,
Free from such a trouble I have sat.
Thou hast set thy foot in the street of madness,
And my trouble thou hast thrown to the winds.
Now, if thou canst find any remedy,
I hope that thou wilt not turn thy face from it.
Act in such a way that this story
Become not notorious in their age.
Viz., thou shouldest go away from my city,
And withdraw thyself from my dwelling-place.
But, with the idea of friendship,
One confidential friend thou shouldst leave;
Then, when he knows my condition,
Each day he may send thee news."

(P. 114). Then Sayyid Músá in accordance with her request, starting in the morning took leave of her, as she was, with every demonstration of grief on both sides. He left a confidential friend there to serve him, and himself set off towards Rintambhor with the fixed purpose of paying his respects to the Emperor :—

"When I go towards thy street, I make one stage of two hundred steps,
When I go out from thence, I make a stage at every step."

But that fair one could not bear the pain of separation, so after some days she came to an understanding with that confidential friend, and said: "Do you to-night, and in the guise of a beggar, raise a cry for alms, and I on the pretext of giving you something will come out of the house, and will go out of this city with you." So at the appointed time, under the pretext she had suggested, she left the house of her father and mother, and trusting her affairs to her modesty, which was her safeguard, she turned her face to flight:—

"As soon as grief for him became my friend,
I turned my face towards the road to non-existence.
Sweet is wandering to one,
Who has such a companion."

The preparations had been made beforehand. For three days they remained hidden in the city, and then with joyful hearts set off towards Fatḥpúr and Biyánah. As luck would have it, inasmuch as God (He is glorious!) willed it not, suddenly in the midst of the road some of the relatives of that Beauty appeared, like an unexpected misfortune, and recognizing her by her charms, which were as evident as the light of day though she herself was veiled, took hold of her firmly by the skirt:—

"Who brought news of sorrow? who gave a warning of misfortune?"

The patrols of Pahluwán Jamál, who at that time was police-magistrate, came up, and a great hubbub ensued. The fugitive fair-one was handed over to her relatives, and her companion in flight was sent to prison. (P. 115) When he had from the close confinement suffered long in misery and hardships, he managed somehow or other to effect his escape. News of these events was brought to the camp to the hapless and wandering Sayyid. Then he, who through sickness caused by separation had become as thin as a new moon, or a ghost, on hearing this news became desperate, and turned his thoughts to death, and even made preparation for self-destruction; but he came to the conclusion that Death could not at any time be very pleasant, so rending the collar of patience he desired to go to Ágrah.

His affectionate brothers, and sincere friends kept an eye on him, whether he would or no, restraining him sometimes by good advice, sometimes by force and threats and reproaches and abuse. At last, when the Imperial camp arrived at the Capital, and Sayyid Músá, who had before been merely wounded, was now consumed [by love], and however much he strove was unable to catch a sight of his beloved, because they kept her guarded in a strong place, one Qází Jamál by name, a Hindí poet of Sivakanpúr, one of the dependencies of Kálpí, between whom and the Sayyid there existed a bond of the closest friendship, took his case very much to heart. So one evening at the hour of prayer he extricated that sitter in a corner of the hall of chastity[1] from the dark cell, and set her beside him on a charger head-tossing like the piebald steed of Fate, and wind-footed and prancing like the racer of the inconstant World, and along the bank of the river Jumna galloped as hard as he could up stream. The relatives of the woman came after him, and the inhabitants of the city who were spectators of the scene shouted in front of him. The horse stuck fast, like an ass in the mud, in the pits and canals, which had been made for purposes of irrigation, and like a chess-man he knew not how to move in stale-mate. Then the beautiful lady fell into despair, and throwing herself out of the saddle on the ground said to Qází: "Save your own life by flight, and take my greeting to my lover, and say to him this impromptu :—(P. 116).

I have made every effort ; but Fate says :
The business, which is another's, is out of thy power."

When Sayyid Músá received this message, he shut himself up in a place which he had within the fortress of Ágrah, and his spirit melted by vexation and despair, and his soul, like a heavenly bird, went forth in flight, and escaped from the four-walled prison of temperament, and was freed from the bond of friend and of enemy, while with his tongue he uttered thrice the following :—

"From the Beloved my heart has found a thousand lives,
A friend better than that it is impossible to find.

[1] That is *Mohiní*.

O God! turn this sorrow to the profit of my broken and desolate heart.

Strike the dagger on my breast,
Cast also my head far from the body.
Throw open the door of this dark house,
Throw open the window also."

When he had despatched his baggage from the temporary lodging to the permanent habitation, they carried his empty corpse with its empty hands to its resting place in order to commit it to the earth. Both men and women made great lamentation: and it so happened that they bore his bier under the very window of that fair one. She, since at this time she was kept a prisoner, with a chain like her tangled tresses on her foot, remained bewildered and stricken on the roof of the house from morning till evening, and setting the seal of silence on her ruby lip, gazed on the bier of that martyr to love. Afterwards being powerless and restless, she uttered a cry, and threw herself just as she was from the lofty roof, and the chain broke from her foot. Like a mad person, with arms and feet naked she ran direct to the resting place of that traveller, who never tasted the joy of union. Her demeanour changed from time to time, sometimes silent, at others crazy, she dropped the head of bewilderment on the collar of sadness, and symptoms of decline became manifest in her:—(P. 117).

"Awake! with a view to the last sleep,
Like a camel at 'Íd[1],' or a butcher's bullock.
The apple of her chin became through destiny
Withered like an apple of last year."

Her father and mother seeing her in this case at once despaired of her life, and forgave her delinquencies:—

"No one takes tribute from a ruined village".

And after that a total derangement, such as takes place in the pulse of persons on the point of death, became apparent in her whether

[1] The festival at Mecca, at which camels were sacrificed.

in motion or at rest, every moment like one mad, and at war with herself, she would sit in a corner disconsolate, and beat her breast with a stone. Then making the pronunciation of the name of Sayyid Músá the practice of her lips and the amulet of her life, in the presence of the pious Mír Sayyid Jalál, who was the religious leader of the day, she recited the confession of Islám, and cast herself on the dust of her pure lover, and surrendered her soul to her beloved[1], as Sayyid Sháhí the author of that poem points out :—

" When the moon heard of this event,
She came suddenly towards us in her wandering :
She took upon her lips the confession of faith,
She became a Musalmán before a congregation.
When she obtained dignity from the religion of Islám,
She put on the *Iḥrám*[2] for the pilgrimage of eternity.
When love became conjoined with her beauty,
It burnt that taper as though it were a moth.
She uttered a cry through affection and love,
She took ' Músá ' on her lips, and gave up her life.
In one moment those two princes of love
Became martyrs of the dagger of love.
So that in the midst of the garden of paradise
They might be hidden from all mankind.
Those two spiritual companions
Went away from this transitory world.
From the pain and grief of separation they were freed,
Concealed from all they sat together.
O Sayyid why dost thou weep ?
Why dost give up thy heart to mourning ?
Forget all this misadventure,
Strive after fortitnde, and be still."

(P. 118) Praise be to God for the gift of Doctrine, and Faith ! The author begs leave to observe, that although in strict accordance with his promise of conciseness, there was no room in this story for

[1] The Creator.

[2] The pilgrim-dress, see Burton's *El-Medinah* and *Meccah* iii, 123.

indulgence in high-flown language, still what could he do! For the language of love carried the reins of my pen irresistibly out of the grasp of my control, and prolixity has been the result. Forgive me!

"Listen O ear to the story of love,
The melody of love from the scratching of the pen.
My business is love, and my friend is love,
The sum-total of my days is love.
What can I do? this is in my temperament,
From eternity my Destiny is this.
For this purpose have they created me,
For this purpose have they drawn me forth."

My hope from Court of the Creator, who pities his creatures, is that he will not make me a liar in this my boast; but that he will make me live in the pain of love, and in that same pain make me to die:—

"The man, who but for one day has his heart-pain,
To him and to me alike may there be good fortune!"

A somewhat similar event had taken place prior to this. It was as follows: One of the sons of a Shaikh of Gwályár, who was related to Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, and was renowned for his remarkable equity and purity, became enamoured of a singing girl in Ágra:—

"In the darkling west of her tresses she mustered
A hundred caravans of moons, and of planets.
In the skirt of union and separation she bound
The ill-fated and the happy-starred alike.
In the circle of her tresses she hid
The turban of the circling sphere."

This came to the ears of the Emperor, and he gave that singing girl to Muqbil Khán, who was one of his courtiers. Then the son of the Shaikh having lost the desire of his heart, went one night to the guarded castle, whither his rival had carried his beloved and imprisoned her, and throwing the lasso of determination, climbed

up and carried her off. The Emperor commanded Shaikh (P. 119) Ziyá'uddín, son of Shaikh Muhammaud Ghous, who now has succeeded to his father on the pathway of spiritual direction and guidance, to bring back that relative of his and that house-devastating woman by means of persuasive advice and friendly counsel. When they came into his presence, the Emperor requested that they would unite them in marriage, but Shaikh Ziyá'uddín and the others forbade. So the disconsolate lover, being unable to endure his grief, killed himself with a stroke of the dagger, and obliterated his name from the register of existence. And a great dispute arose among the learned men with respect to his interment and burial. Shaikh Ziyá'uddín said that in accordance with the tradition : "He who loves and is chaste, and conceals his love and dies, dies a martyr", he was a martyr to love, and he ought to be committed to the dust just as he was :—

"I am a martyr to the dagger of love,
With the blood of my eyelids besmeared.
Commit me to the dust just as I am,
Full of blood, and wash me not."

But Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, the chief Çadr, and other Ulamás and Qázís, who were controllers of the *çadr* court, said that having died unclean and stained with adultery, he was not resting in love ; but God knows best ! And on account of the fate of her lover that singing girl went into mourning, and tearing the skirt of patience, clothing herself with a winding-sheet upon his grave, elected to sweep his tomb, till after some days having gone to the unveiling in the house of non-existence, they two were perfectly united :—

"When the Fair-ones lift up the veil,
The Lovers expire at the sight of such majesty[1]."

[1] Or as Falconer has well rendered the lines of Ḥakím Sanáí :

"Ah ! when the Fair, adored through life, lifts up at length, he cried
The veil that sought from mortal eyes immortal charms to hide
'Tis thus true lovers fevered long, with that sweet mystic fire,
Exulting meet the Loved-one's gaze, and in the glance expire."

And in this year Shaikh Gadáí Kambóí of Dihlí, who was a retired financier, and through the foolish flattery of the knaves of the day had become a very idol in self-conceit and pride, departed this life. And '*You are dead you great hog*[1]' was found to give the date.

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven (977), when the news of the taking of Chítor and Rintambhor became spread abroad on all sides (P. 120) and in all directions, and Rám Chand the ruler of Bhat'h found that his fortresses could no longer hold out, and that they were short of water, he began to consider seriously what would be the result of continued opposition, and before matters came to such a pitch that he would be obliged to capitulate, sent the key of the fortress of Kálinjar with valuable presents to Court. This fortress he had bought for a considerable sum of money from Bijlí Khán, the reputed son of Bahádur Khán Sarwání. The Emperor committed this fortress to the charge of Majnún Khán Qáqshál, who had a *jágír* in that neighbourhood. He also sent a conciliatory farmán to Rájah Rám Chand, and gave him the *pargana* of Arail (which is near to Jhosí, and Piyág known as Ilhábás) together with its dependencies as *jágír*.

On the seventeenth of the month Rabí'ulawwal[2] of this year, when seven hours of the day had passed, the auspicious birth of the Imperial Prince Sulṭán Salím took place at the abode of Shaikh Islem Chishtí at Fatḥpúr :—

"You would say that a star had come to the earth,
That Joseph had come a second time to the world.
On the crown of his head through wisdom
There shone a star of eminence."

The Emperor set out with all expedition from Ágrah, and in the excess of his joy ordered all prisoners to be released, and for seven days held high festival. The poets presented him with congratulatory *qaçídahs*. Of that number was Khwájah Ḥusain Marwí, who recited a *qaçídah*, of which each first hemistich contains the date of the Emperor's accession, and each second hemistich the date of happy birth of the Imperial Prince, the refuge of the world. He received two *lacs* of *tankahs* in money. The Qaçídah is as follows :—

[1] 40 + 200 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 20 + 20 + 30 + 1 + 50 = 977.

[2] The third month.

Praise to God for the pomp and glory of our king!
(P. 121) A pure pearl from the ocean of justice is come to the shore:
A bird from the nest of pomp and bounty has alighted:
A star from the pinnacle of glory and beauty is manifested:
A rose of this sort they have not shown on the ground of the garden.
A tulip of this sort has not opened in the tulip-bed.
The nurse of the spring-cloud, through the tenderness of excellence,
Made the grass the companion of the rose, the pearl that of the jewel.[1]
The Sun[2] said: 'It is right that for that Piece-of-moon
It should make an ear-ring of Zohrah for the adorning of beauty:
The coming of a son adds to the adornment of a king, perhaps
The incomparable Lúlú[3] would add to the adornment of the royal Pearl.
All hearts were glad that again from the heaven of justice and equity
The world once more revived, through the Sun of the days of spring.
That new-moon of the mansion of power and bounty and pomp came down,
And that shoot of the desire of the soul of the king bore fruit.
The king of the realm of fidelity, the Sultan of the palace of purity,
The taper of the assembly of the heart-broken, the desire of the heart of the hopeful,
The noble the perfect Muhammad Akbar, Lord of conjunction,
The renowned king, seeking and attaining his desire,
The perfectly capable sage, the most just of the kings of the world,
Noble, loftiest, a sage without a rival in the world.

[1] The Rose and the Jewel represent the Emperor, the Grass and the Pearl his wife.

[2] The Sun is the Emperor, the Piece-of-moon is his wife. Zohrah: Venus. The Empress was to be adorned by having a child, which is represented by the ear-ring.

[3] The royal Pearl is the Emperor. *Lúlú* also means Pearl, it is used figuratively for the baby.

From his speech the meaning of the ecstatic state is understood:
(P. 122) And from his perfection the building of religion and of the world is firm.
Shadow of God's bounty is he, worthy of crown and seal,
A religion-protesting king is he, noble pivot of the world.
At times from onslaught of fury he takes pardon on his tongue,
At times with the tongue of the spear he says to the enemy, Flee!
Know that the fourth heaven is the censer in his assembly,
Know that Arcturus is the spearman of his cavalcade.
Whenever his victorious cavalcade passes, the whole world
Cries out "Happiness" on the right hand, "Wealth" on the left.
O the power of the pen, which like running water
Goes over black and white day and night!
O thou like the work of the Eternal, thou Sun of kingdom and religion,
Thou who glorifiest the step of eminence, Shadow of God.
O prince of the lofty standard, wise of heart, and Saturn-throned,
O prince of lofty centre, just-one of exalted family.
Lord of the wealth of the world, king of sea and land,
To thy friends thou art kind, mindful of the generous.
King of the dawn of justice and truth, moon of the evening of pomp and dignity,
Quick as lightning in decision, strong as mountain to bear burdens.
O mine of justice and bounty, fountain of grace and liberality,
Precious and beauteous, nourisher of religion, and chaste.
Protector of the religion of the Prophet, O eraser of marks of evil.
(P. 123) Prince of the lofty standard, a mine of bounty, and mountain of weight.
Illumination of the mansion of existence, pearl of the sea of bounty,
From the desire of the pinnacle of hearts a falcon hunting lives.
At thy bounty how can a single drop remain before the cloud for shame,
Compared with thy nature "Bounty" is not applicable to the spring-cloud.
O King I have brought a string of precious pearls,
A present which is become precious, seek it out and listen.

None has a present better than this, if any have one at all,
If any have any, tell him "Come", anything he has tell him "Bring".
Each verse of the poem of Marwí, it is sufficient if it be without mistake[1],
Whichever [verse] you try you will find the purpose twice:
The first half gives the year of the king's Accession,
From the second bring out the Birth of the Light of the Eye of the world.[2]
That the reckoning of the days and months and year may last,
And that that number may be illustrious on account of the year and month and day:
When our king comes to an end, may our prince endure
Days without number, and years without count."

And that Shaikh of nations, Shaikh Ya'qúb Çírfí of Kashmír composed a *qaçídah* of the same kind. But what was the good! Another person carried off the reward. And some one else made the following *mnenosynon*: "*The royal pearl of the sea of Akbar*"[3] and another:—

"From the rising of good-fortune a prosperous king appeared."[4]

On Friday the 12th of the month Sha'bán[5] the Emperor set out to pay a vow of thanks for the rising of (P. 124) this star of prosperity, and went on foot from Ágra to Ajmír, travelling six or seven *cosses* each day. After fulfilling the rites of the pilgrimage he returned, and in the blessed month of Ramzán[6] he encamped outside Dihlí,

[1] They are correct, only sometimes a *wáw* or a *yé* must be struck out.

[2] The ½ half of line 12 gives 8 + 20 + 30 + 40 + 7 + 13 + 50 + 39 + 40 + 70 + 50 + 10 + 40 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 5 = 963. The second half of line 6 (omitting *yé*) gives 36 + 36 + 31 + 31 + 80 + 7 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 17 + 2 + 4 + 200 + 300 + 1 + 5 + 6 + 1 + 200 = 977. *Ex uno disce omnia.*

[3] 4 + 200 + 300 + 6 + 7 + 200 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 = 978. But read *shah*, instead of *sháh*, and we get the correct date 977.

[4] 316 + 271 + 380 = 987. But read *rú*, instead of *rúé*, as the metre requires, and we get the correct date 977.

[5] The 8th month.

[6] The 9th month.

and spent some days in visiting the tombs of the saints of God, and then crossing the river Jumna he returned to the metropolis hunting as he went.

In this year the Emperor had Mírzá Muqím of Içfahán together with a certain person named Mír Ya'qúb of Kashmír put to death on the charge of being *Shí'ahs.* The facts are as follows. This Mírzá Muqím had been several times to Lak'hnou to pay his respects to Ḥusain Khán, and the Khán (who is now deceased) had received him with kindness and favour, on account of the great respect he had for the Sayyids, and had made him administrator of his government. Afterwards the brothers and relatives of the Khán impressed upon him the idea, that this Mirzá was a violent and zealous *Shí'ah,* and utterly alienated his feelings from the Mírzá, who now went to do homage to the Emperor and was favourably received and appointed *Wakíl* at the court of Ḥusain Khán governor of Kashmír. At that time a number of zealous *Shí'ahs* had in their bigotry wounded Qází Ḥabíb, who was a zealous *Sunní.* It happened that the said Qází was still living when Ḥusain Khán of Kashmír on the decision of the Muftís ordered the assassin to be put to death. Mírzá Muqím, on his own responsibility, handed over the Muftís on the charge of "Why did they issue a mandate for the execution of that person, though he might be deserving of punishment?" to a certain person, who was a violent and furious bigot, and he put to death three or four of them. Now when Mírzá Muqím and Mír Ya'qúb, the wakíl of Ḥusain Khán, brought the daughter of Ḥusain Khán to Court as a sort of present, this story was represented to the Emperor, and these two persons upon the decision of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and other Ulamás, who were his family, were brought to the just punishment of their wicked deeds in the plain of (P. 125) Fatḥpúr. And a portion of this story has been inserted in the history of Kashmír of which the author of these pages has written an epitome.

In this year on the dismissal of Ḥusain Khán the Emperor gave the *parganna* of Lak'hnou as *jágír* to Mahdí Qásim Khán, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and had come to the fortress of Rintambhor, and had an interview with him there. Ḥusain Khán was exceedingly indignant with Mahdí Qásim Khán on account of this, and reciting the verse "This separation between me

and thee[1] ", began to look forward to the Day of the Resurrection[2]. And in spite of his being married to the daughter of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and in spite of her affection for him, he married a daughter of his own uncle Ghanazfar Beg. After a time he left her in helplessness, and the daughter of Mahdí Qásim Beg at Khairábád with her brothers, and set off from Lak'hnou with the intention of carrying on a religious war, and of breaking the idols and destroying the idol-temples. He had heard that the bricks of these were of silver and gold, and conceiving a desire for this and all the other abundant and unguarded treasures, of which he had heard a lying report, he set out by way of Oudh to the Sawálik mountains. The mountaineers, as is their custom, immediately abandoned their positions, after a slight resistance, and took refuge in the high and dangerous mountains. When Ḥusain Khán arrived at the place where Sulṭán Muḥammad, nephew of Pír Muḥammad Khán had been martyred, and which is a burial-place of martyrs, he read the *Fatiḥah*[3] for those pure spirits, and built a *çuffah*[4] over the dilapidated tombs of those martyrs. Then he ravaged the country as far as the district of Wajráíl, which is part of the territory of Rájah Ranká, a powerful *zamíndár*. Thence he marched two days' journey as far as Ajmír, which is his capital, and is a very mine of gold and silver, and silk and musk, and all the productions of the country of Tibet, when on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, from the effect of the neighing of the horses, the beating of the drums and the shouts (P. 126) of the men the clouds collected and so much rain fell that neither corn nor fodder was to be procured, and famine stared the army in the face. Although Ḥusain Khán, with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, and excited their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to support him, and so, whether he would or no, he was obliged to retreat. As soon as they

[1] Al Qur'án xviii. 77.

[2] Viz., to right him.

[3] Al Qur'án I.

[4] A raised bench of wood, earth or stone, upon which people might recreate themselves with conversation and quoting poetry. Barton, *El-Medinah* and *Meccah* ii, 143.

began to retreat, the unbelievers seized the passes and showered down on them stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones, so that most of the bravest and most experienced of his warriors drank the draught of martyrdom. And the rest, who had been wounded, five or six months later through the effect of that pernicious poison obtained their desired release from this dwelling of pleasure which leaves a bitter taste behind it. And the date of their death is given in a riddle, *viz.* :—"*Tasteless bitterness*[1] ".

Ḥusain Khán returned to Court and requested that Kánt and Golah in the skirts of the mountains might be conferred upon him as *jágír*, in lieu of the one he had held before. This he did with a view to taking vengeance on the mountaineers. His request was graciously acceded to. Several times he made incursions into the skirts of the hills, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows, who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition, in this expedition were poisoned by the bad water of the country and departed from the world without fighting. After some years Ḥusain Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrance of his friends, made another attempt against the hill-country, and gave the chattels of existence to the wind, as will be narrated in its proper place, if God, He is exalted, will.

About this time the author, after taking leave of Ḥusain Khán[2], went from Lak'hnou to Badáún, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Shaikh Muḥammad, whom I loved from my very soul; nay I valued him more than my own life, for he had acquired many excellent qualities, and angelic dispositions had become his moral habit (P. 127). Three months hardly had elapsed before that mandate of good, which includes a hundred evils, by consecutive moves of the pieces, carried off both him and the pupil of my eye 'Abdu-l-Laṭíf, who was the earliest first-fruits of the garden of my life and existence,[3] from the bed to the grave, and changed me from a very prince of happiness to a monster in my own city: "Verily we belong to God, and verily we return to Him[4] ":—

[1] *Talkh* "bitter" gives 1030, take *mazah* "taste," = 52, away from it, and you get 978.

[2] He was a great friend of his. See above.

[3] His first-born.

[4] Al Qur'án II, 151.

"How long will Fate put the scar of grief on my heart!
Before one scar is healed It put on another.
Every wound which inclines a little to amelioration,
It leaves that wound and makes a worse wound
If my grief puts its back under a thousand mountains,
It puts a thousand fresh mountains upon it".

What can one do? "This is not the first phial that has been broken[1] in Islám." And this poem I wrote as an elegy on him, on account of the degree to which, through the wound of his loss, my heart has been, and is, and will be burnt until my appointed day. It is as follows :—

"O Lord! this day what a day it is has fallen on me,
And what a soul-wasting calamity it is that has shown itself to men.
There is no one whom the cry of my despair has not reached,
Yet no one comes to my cry of despair.
My moon at the end of life went behind the veil of invisibility,
See from this pregnant-one of darkness what a woe has been born to me.
My star of joy and hope was dashed to the ground,
After this my heart with what hope shall it be glad?
Although my foundations were firm in patience, yet
The torrent of grief came and threw me from my foundations.
(P. 128) That person, whom I remember a hundred times in a day,
Alas! that he does not remember me once in a year.
Unjust heaven how many sorrows has it given me!
On whom shall I take vengeance, who will give me satisfaction?
I know not the state of my heart, what shall I say? what do?
The remedy for my heart-pain of whom shall I seek? what shall I do?

[1] Read *kusirat*, not *kuthirat*.

O Fate! alas that thou hast made my heart wounded and desolate!
My content of heart thou hast utterly scattered.
O Jewel, that in my hand was hidden for others,
Thou hast openly carried it out of my sight and hidden it.
My Cypress thou hast carried from the garden to the prison of the tomb,
Thou hast made the garden a prison to me sorrow-stricken.
My Yúsuf thou hast given to the paw of the wolf,
Ah! me thou hast made a recluse in the cell of care.
In the dark *clay* thou hast put my new-born *rose*[1],
Why hast thou made my day just like dark night?
In a word that person, from whom was all my scope and aim,
Thou hast carried away, and left me without scope or aim.
That brother, who came to this strange city,
Thou hast made his grave in the desert beside strangers.
The season of the rose is come, and the *place* of Muhammad is in the dust,
It is my *place* that through vexation I should lay my hand in the dust.
Finally, O mine Eye! what hast thou seen that thou art gone from the world?
That with thine eye covered thou art gone from my moist eye?
(P. 129) To my dark eye there was light from thy face,
The light is gone from my heart since thou art gone from my eye.
Thou wast to my eye like the signet of a ring,
In the end thou hast dropped from the ring like a signet-stone.
My heart for no cause is glad in the world,
A pity, in thousand pities, thou art gone sorrowful from the world.
Thou pure spirit wast sore vexed at this halting-place,
Thou tookest up thy baggage, and departest from this halting-place of sorrow.

[1] Playing on the words *gil* 'clay' and *gul* 'rose'.

On thy heart from worldly matters there was no burden,
All at once from worldly matters joyful and glad-hearted thou departest.
From the cradle I was to thee, companion and friend, every moment,
Why to the tomb art thou gone companionless and friendless ?
Thou art gone, and grief for thee will never go from this bewildered heart
Sorrow for thee will never go from my heart, as long as my life goes not for sorrow for thee,
Who is there that will tell me any news of thee ?
Shall any give news of the departed soul to the body[1] ?
News of the rose, that has dropped through the injury of autumn,
Who is there, in short, that will tell it to the bird of the garden ?
Where is there a messenger who my sorrow and grief face to face
One by one before thee gracefully will tell ?
Who shall tell to you my words with his tongue, and then
For my consolation bring back the words from your tongue ?
I am strait-hearted, rosebud-like, and there is none present,
(P. 130) Who will repeat to me a single letter from thee, O thou rosebud-mouthed.
There are a hundred knots and tangles in this heart for love of thee,
Who will tell to thee of this heart full of knots and tangles.
Thou art gone afar, and there has come no one from thy country
Who should tell me anything of thy state.
I go, and on the top of thy tomb I take my station,
That I may hear an answer from thee, and salute thee.
I say, O thou unfound jewel what is thy state ?
With thy body wounded and helpless, what is thy state ?

[1] He calls himself ‘ the body ’, and his deceased son ‘ the soul ’.

Thou art in the sleep of death, and without thee a confusion[1] hath arisen,
Awake, and lift up thy head from this sleep, what is thy state?
Through separation from thee thy friends are in a very bad condition,
O thou who remainest separate from thy friends, what is thy state?
Thy friends through *distance* from thee are *near* to death,
Far from company of companions what is thy state?
Thy place was once in the Prayer-niche[2], and now I see
The niche left empty of thee, what is thy state?
Without thee I drink the blood of my liver, ask me for once
"In this drinking of blood what is thy state?"
Over thy *clay* a hundred fresh *roses* have blossomed from my tears,
Under the *clay* O thou fresh *rose* what is thy state?
In such a woeful habitation who is nigh thee?
The solacer of thy day, and friend of thy dark night who is he?

(P. 131) O I am fallen far away from thy fair cheek,
And I am fallen through thy absence into a hundred kinds of calamity.
Thou art in the desert, while I remain in this strange city,
O God! where art thou, and I am to what place have I fallen?
Thou hast not gathered thy whole weight of roses, and I know not now.
Why upon thee hath fallen a hundred hillocks of thorns and briars.
I knew not the worth of thy presence, and this is the requital,
That the day of retribution hath met with thee.
I would have spent my soul in thy behalf, but what can I do?
For thy business hath fallen under God's absolute decree.

[1] *Qiyámat* means "Resurrection", also "Confusion".
[2] See Burton's *El-Medinah* and *Meccah*, ii, 64.

Thy date was: He said, When the cypress fell,
'*That erect cypress how suddenly it fell from its place*[1] *!*'
O Qádir wailing and crying doth not profit,
Strive after prayer, for the turn is come for prayer.
Ask of God, that his affairs be all laudable,
And that God may be satisfied equally with him and thee.
O Lord! may his passage be into thy garden of Paradise,
May the tower of the highest Paradise be his resting-place.
When into the garden of Paradise he passes unveiling his beauty,
May Houris and boys be on his right hand and his left.
In the dark night, when he purposed the journey to the other world,
May the light of Islám be the lamp of his dark night.
If there is no one who lights a lamp on his tomb,
(P. 132) May the light of the mercy of God be the taper on his tomb.
Since he has taken away his bosom from the bride the old women of Fate,
May the fresh heavenly brides be in his bosom.
Since after death no friend was with him,
May the mercy of God moment by moment be his friend.
The drops of tears, which men shed over him,
May each drop become a pure pearl, and be devoted to him.
To all eternity may his abode be the pinnacle of heaven,
This prayer from me, and may from Gabriel come: Amen!

And in this year the building of the tomb of the late Emperor, which is heart-delighting, paradise-like, was completed. It is at Dihlí on the banks of the river Jumna and took Mírak Mírzá Ghiyás eight or nine years to build. Its magnificent proportions are such that the eye of the spectator gazing on it admits it only with wonder.

On Thursday the 3rd of the month of Muḥarram[2] in the year nine hundred and seventy-eight (978) there took place in the house of

[1] 51 + 60 + 15 + 60 + 200 + 6 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 20 + 5 + 7 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 80 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

[2] The 1st month.

Shaikh Salím the rising of the star of prosperity and happiness, the Prince Murád. And a royal feast just like the former one was prepared. And Múláná Qásim Arsalán composed a *qiṭ'ah*, of which the first hemistich of each verse gives the date of the birth of those two princes, the first that of the first, and the second that of the second :—

"*The first prince, that shining moon*[1],
Rose like a moon from the pinnacle of glory.
That second son of king Akbar[2]
Came down like a descending constellation from heaven."

Also there is another *mnemosynon* of the same kind :—

"From the pure light, like Sultán Salím there descended,
The standard of Sháh Murád bin Akbar the just[3]."

And Khwájah Ḥusain Marwí composed a *qiṭ'ah* of seven verses, in which each first hemistich (P. 133) gives the date of the birth of the first prince, and each second hemistich the date of the birth of the second :—

"This sky gave two princes to the king[4],
The face of both was better than the sun[5].
The first of them was second to the king of the world,
The second of them was a heart-stealer of lofty power.
The one through good luck to the king on the throne
Brought the news of a hundred open doors.
The other was cause of peace and security,
The sun gave him from the moon a sleeping-cradle.
The news that a king is born arises from the first,
And of that the first hemistich gives the answer.
From the second hemistich of each verse
Find thou the birth of the second prince.

[1] 7 + 30 + 10 + 50 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 5 + 10 + 51 + 400 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 6 = 983.

[2] 51 + 10 + 40 + 80 + 200 + 57 + 5 + 20 + 202 + 5 + 300 + 6 = 978.

[3] Each of these lines gives 977.

[4] This line gives 977.

[5] This line gives 976.

May there be to that king, and to that prince,
The pomp of Alexander, and the glory of Afráshyáb."

On the 20th of Rabi'lákhir of this year the Emperor departed from Fatḥpúr, where he had remained twelve days, and then went towards Ajmír with the intention of paying his vows. He laid the foundations of a fortress in the environs of that pure city, and ordered a lofty palace to be built by the great Amírs. On Friday the 4th of Jamádi'l Ákhir marching thence he came in the course of twelve days to Nágor. And he ordered the great tank of that city to be dug out, and distributed the work among the Amírs, and he named it *Shukr-taláo*.[1]

In this year Chandarsín, son of Máldeo, ruler of Márvár, came to do homage to the Emperor. And Rái Kalyán Mal, Rájah of Bíkánír came together with his son Rái Singh, and brought his daughter as a gift, so that she was admitted into the Imperial Ḥaram. The Emperor gave the father leave to return to Bíkánír, but the son he took along with him. On the jonrney he hunted wild asses, animals which he had never before met with, and then, with a view to visiting the tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs, that mine of salt, treasury of sugar, and unique one of his age, the honoured Shaikh Farid (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!), he went towards Ajodhan, which is generally known as Pattan. There Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khán, who was the *jágír*-holder of that place, made a great feast, and offered suitable gifts and presents (P. 134) : and indeed such profuse hospitality is recorded of but few others. This is a *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"*The Sháh and the Prince are honoured guests.*[2]"

Thence he went to Láhor, where he was the guest of Ḥusain Qulí Khán. And then reciting "Return is best" he went back by way of Ḥisár Fírozah to the city of Ajmír, and thence by successive marches he arrived at Fatḥpúr.

[1] 'Thanks-tank.' The Hindustani *Taláo* is a corruption of *Taláb*.

[2] 40 + 10 + 5 + 40 + 2 + 50 + 50 + 70 + 17 + 57 + 4 + 300 + 5 + 6 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

Muḥibb ʻAlí Khán, son of Mír Khalífah, who for a long time had given up military service and lived in retirement, through the intervention of his wife Náhíd Bégum, whose mother was wife to Mírzá ʻĪsá Tarkhán, ruler of Tattah, was at this time graciously received: and the Emperor having presented him with a standard and kettledrum, and given him a *jágír* in Multán, and having written to Saʻíd Khán Moghúl, ruler of Multán, in his behalf, and having sent with him his nephew Mujáhid Khán, who was a very brave and daring soldier, appointed him to take Tattah. He entered Multán, and keeping nearly 400 horsemen in his own *jágír*, sent some to Sulṭán Muhammad, governor of Bakkar, with this message: "You have often said that if I came here, I should need no other help but yours, now I have promised to take Tattah and deliver it over to the Emperor. This was represented at Court, and in full reliance on your co-operation the Emperor had appointed me to this kingdom. And now the moment for rendering assistance is come." He wrote in answer: "If you come by way of Jaisalmír to reduce Sind, I will send you assistance; but I will not let you pass by way of Bakkar, for I have no confidence in you." Muḥibb ʻAlí Khán and Mujáhid Khán set off by the other route, and Sulṭán Maḥmúd collected his army and sent it to oppose them. Muḥibb ʻAlí Khán came off victorious in the engagement which ensued, and after the defeat besieged the Bakkar-ites in the fortress of Mánélah. That fortress (P. 135) he took on terms of capitulation and quarter. Then Sulṭán Maḥmúd sent the remnant of his army, consisting of gunners and archers, from the fortress of Bakkar to engage Muḥibb ʻAlí Khán. They met with the same fate as before, and then retreated to the fortress and there made a resolute stand. But, since the crowding of people within the fortress was very great, the air became fearfully contaminated, and a terrible pestilence came on, so that 1,000 persons, more or less, died every day. At last in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who was an aged decrepit and imbecile old-man, himself succumbed, and the fortress fell into the hands of the Emperor. Then he sent Mír Gesú from Fatḥpúr to examine the stores and treasures of the place.

In this year Munʻim Khán, Khán Khánán, came from Jounpúr, and brought with him Iskandar Khán Uzbek, who had escaped from

the Afgháns, and obtained pardon for him. Both of them the Emperor presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and a robe of honour, and a horse with a gilded saddle, and to Iskandar Khán he gave Lak'hnou as *jágir*. Iskandar being appointed to help the Khán Khánán received permission to return to Jounpúr. He arrived at Lak'hnou, and after some time on the 10th of Jumadi-'lawwal[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty (980) he laid his head on the pillow of mortal sickness, and departed this life :—

"What need of joy or sorrow, for happiness or misery,
For while you wink your eye you see neither one nor the other ?"

And in this year Jamál Khán, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badáún, who was a person of decided beauty, and one of my old bosom friends, being at Sambhal with Khán Kalán on the feast of Qurbán,[2] was attacked with bowel-complaint, and having been administered a mouthful of areca-nut by an ignorant hand fell sick and died. And this is the *mnemosynon* which was found for the date :—(P. 136)

"A hundred sighs for the youth and beauty of Kamál Khán.[3]"

And the Shaikh of nations Shaikh Yaqúb Çarfí of Kashmír invented this *mnemosynon* :—

"He gave up life on the Feast of Qurbán.[4]"

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-nine (979) the royal palace at Ágra, and another palace in the new town of Fatḥpúr were finished. And Qásim Arsalán composed the mnemosynon :

Two buildings like the highest heavens have been completed
In the time of the reign of the Lord of Conjunction of the seven climes.
One is in the city of the metropolis Ágra,
The other in the district of Sikrí abode of Shaikh Salím.

[1] The fifth month.
[2] The 10th of Zi-l-ḥajjah. See Burton III, p. 280 seq.
[3] Gives 928 (!).
[4] Gives 977 (!).

Heaven for the sake of the date of these two lofty palaces
Has written with its ancient pen : *Two highest paradises*[1]."

And towards the end of the blessed month of Ramzán[2] of this year Shaikh Salím Chishtí of Fatḥpúr (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and a high master of the different stages of advancement in the knowledge of God, a little of whose history will be written in the sequel to this epitome, if God, He is exalted!' will) passed from the abode of transient pride to the abode of lasting glory. And one *mnemosynon* for his death is "*Shaikh i Hindí*[3];" and another :—

"The date of the death of Shaikh Islám [is]
The Shaikh of sages, and *the Shaikh of princes*[4]."

In this year a dreadful event happened to the compiler of this epitome. It is briefly as follows: When Kánt and Golah became the *jagir* of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khán, and I, in accordance with the decree of fate, remained some time in his service, and became *Çadr* of that province, and had the responsibility of ministering to the faqírs, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the shrine of that illustrious luminary, that Shaikh of nobles, that marvel of truth and religion, Sháh Madár (God sanctify his glorious tomb!) at Makanpúr one of the dependencies of Qannouj, I, this son of man who have imbibed my mother's crude milk, through the nature of my disposition which is compounded of innate carelessness (which is the cause of (P. 137) wrong-doing and repentance) and of radical ignorance (which conduces to presumption and damage, and has descended to me from the father of all flesh) wilfully closed the eyes of my intellect, and gave it the name of love. So I was captured in the net of desire and lust, and the secret contained in the ancient writing of fate was revealed, and suddenly in that shrine I committed a terrible piece of impropriety. But since the chastisement as well as the mercy of

[1] 4 + 6 + 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 2 + 200 + 10 + 50 = 979.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979.

[4] Both expressions *Shaikh i ḥukamá*, and *Shaikh i ḥukkám*, contain the same letters; and in each case the sum of the numerical values of them is 979.

God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majesty!) was upon me, I received punishment for that transgression, and chastisement for that sin even in this world, for God granted to some of the relatives of the beloved to overcome me, from whom I receive nine sword-wounds in succession on my head and hand and back. They all merely grazed the skin except one on my head which penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached the brain, exposing me as a brainless fellow, and another partially severed the sinews of the little finger of my left hand. I became unconscious and took a journey to the other world and came back again. I hope that at the Resurrection the future may also turn out well!

"Whatever calamity fortune hath inflicted,
I must say the truth, it was less than my deserts.
I never paid Him thanks for His goodness,
Until He certainly threw me into sorrow and woe".

I met with a skilful surgeon in the town of Bángarmou, and in the course of a single week my wounds were healed. In the midst of that pain and sickness I made a vow, that if I should recover from that accident, I would perform the pilgrimage of Islám. And to this moment I am still waiting to perform this vow, if God (He is exalted!) will, and I hope that He will prosper me to attain this felicity before I pay the debt of death and a breach is made in the building of hope: "And this would not be too difficult for God[1]."— "Some there are who have made good their promise, and others are waiting:[2]"—

"In this turquoise palace of ancient foundation,
The son of man is wonderfully apt to err:
Gratitude is not his habit,
His business is only neglect of worship.
Although he passes his whole life amid mercies,
He never knows their value until they be lost."

[1] Al Qur'án XIV 23, XXXV, 18.
[2] Al Qur'án XXXIII, 23.

(P. 138). Thence I went to Kánt u Golah. There after performing the ablution[1] I was again thrown on a bed of sickness. And Ḥusain Khán, may God (praise to Him! He is exalted) grant him to attain to the eternal paradise! treated me with the kindness of a father or a brother beyond all mortal capacity; and when through the excessive cold the wound became ulcerous, he made me a plaster of pungent wood of the tamarisk-tree[2], and made me eat a tamarisk sweet-meat. Thence I came to Badáún, where another surgeon reopened the wound in my head, and I was near to death's door. One day between sleep and wakefulness :—

"It was not sleep, but it was unconsciousness"

I saw, that a number of apparitors carried me up to the heavens. And in that place there was a book and a tribunal, and the writers were busy, and a number of constables were present (as in a king's court on earth), and staff in hand kept hurrying about. And one of the writers taking a leaf in his hand looked at it, and said: "This is not he". At that moment hunger opened my eyes, and so I became conscious of my wandering, and a saying, which I used to hear from the mouths of people in the days of my youth came true: "Yea the world of possibilities is wide, but the power of the First Cause is predominant, and God is predominant over his works."

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badáún, and so many Hindús and Musalmáns perished in the flames as to exceed all computation. Carts filled with the charred remains were driven down to the river, and none could tell who was a Moslem and who an infidel. Many to escape being burnt rushed to the ramparts of the fortress, and men and women on account of the heat of the flaming fire threw themselves down from the top of the wall. Others escaped with burns and scars. Water on that fire (P. 139) acted like oil of naphtha. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. Some it warned, others it destroyed. Before this catastrophe a half-witted fellow came from the Doáb, and I took him into my house, and associated

[1] *I. e. ghusul-í çaḥḥat*, the first bathing after sickness.

[2] *Chob i gaz.*

with him. He said to me in private: "Flee out of this city." I said: "Why?" He said: "A terrible visitation is about to happen to it." But since he was a frequenter of taverns I did not credit him:—

"Why do you ask about Badáún and its distracted state,
For it is a revelation of the verses about '*The punishment of fire*[1]'?"

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) the conquest of Gujrát took place. The substance of the affair is as follows. Gujrát had fallen into the greatest confusion, and had been broken up into different petty governments, so the Emperor issued an order for the assembling of the army and made a firm determination to reduce that country to subjection. On the 20th of Çafar[2] he set out from the Capital, and on the 15th of Rabi'lawwal[3] the city of Ajmír became the abode of the imperial cavalcade. After visiting the sacred mausoleum of that Summary of the line of Chistis, the saint Mu'ínuddín Chistí (God sanctify his tomb, and their tombs!), the next day he proceeded to circumambulate the tomb of Mír Sayyid Ḥusain Khang-sawár, and this verse was composed in his honour:—

"Thanks to God that a clear light hath shone into the heart
From Ḥusain bin 'Alí bin Ḥusain bin 'Alí."

And he went up to the top of that hill. Then he sent forward Mír Muhammad, Khán Kalán, with 10,000 horse as vanguard, and himself by consecutive days marching arrived on the 9th of the month Jamadi'lawwal[4] at Nágor. During the night of Wednesday the second of this month the birth of the prosperous Prince Dániyál took place at Ajmír in the house of one Shaikh Dániyál by name, a holy sojourner. This good news was brought to the Emperor at two days' journey from Nágor. (P. 140). The Emperor named

[1] Al Qur'án II, 120, &c.
[2] The second month.
[3] The third month.
[4] The fifth month.

him Dániyál after the said Shaikh Dániyál. The following is the *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"One said, *May he be a keeper of the Law of the Prophet.*[1]"
And the word Sharí'at[2] "The Law" will do just as well.

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Mírt'ha, news came that a Rájpút at Sarohí having come as an ambassador had struck Kháni Kalán with a *jamd'har*[3], which is the name of a weapon well-known among the people of Hind. The weapon pierced his breast and came out at the shoulder-blade, but the wound was not mortal. The Rájpút was sent to Hell. The wound in the course of ten or fifteen days healed over, and continued to do well. When the Emperor arrived at Sarohí a body of 100 or 50 Rájpúts, as is their hereditary custom, some in idol-temples and some in the palace of the Rájah of Sarohí bound themselves to die, and went forth to fight, and were slain to a man. In this engagement Dost Muḥammad, son of the late Tátár Khán governor of Dihlí, whom they call Tátárcheh, became a martyr. While the Emperor was at this place he appointed Rái Singh of Bíkánír governor of Joudhpúr, in order that he might go by way of Gujrát and prevent any harm being done to any one by Ráná Kíká ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair[4]. And Mán Singh, son of Rájah Bhagawan Dás he sent with a well appointed army in the direction of Ídar in pursuit of the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí[5], who had gone in that direction with all his family and relatives. In the beginning of the month Rajab[6] the Emperor encamped outside Pattan, and gave that place as *jágír* to Sayyid Aḥmad Khán Bárha, brother of Sayyid Maḥmúd. Mán Singh having spoiled the remnant of the army of the Afgháns rejoined the Emperor bringing much booty.

When Sher Khán obtained news of the Emperor's approach (P. 141), he raised the siege of Aḥmadábád, in which he had for the

[1] 51 + 90 + 200 + 300 + 200 + 70 + 50 + 12 + 2 + 1 + 4 = 980.

[2] 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 = 980.

[3] Sanscrit *jamd'hara* "death-bearer", a large dagger with a basket hilt.

[4] See p. 102.

[5] See Briggs, *Ferishta* IV, pp. 156 and 165.

[6] The seventh month.

space of six months been engaged along with I'timád Khán, the *ghulám* and absolute *vazír* of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Gujrátí, and the army of the Afgháns became dispersed. On Sunday the 9th of the month Rajab of this year Muzaffar, son of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Gujrátí, whom I'timád Khán had kept continually in confinement, so as to keep the power in his own hands, came and did homage to the Emperor. Eventually he was given into the charge of Sháh Mançúr *vazír* (whose history will be narrated, if God will), and he was granted a monthly allowance of 30 rupees. After some years he escaped and regained his government. But he was taken prisoner by the Rájah of Súrat, who, when he had thus secured him, sent him towards Chúnágaṛh to A'zam Khán. But on the road he laid violent hands on himself, and killed himself with a stroke of a razor. Subsequent events will be narrated in detail.

The next day I'timád Khán, and Sháh Abu Turáb, and Sayyid Ḥámid Bokhárí, and Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, and Malik-ush-Sharq, and Wajíh-ul-mulk, and Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian, and Jajhár Khán the Abyssinian, and the other Amírs of Gujrát, came one and all and were granted an interview with the Emperor. And I'timád Khán brought the key of the city of Aḥmadábád. The Emperor entrusted the Abyssinians to trusty officers of his own to be employed in guarding his harem. On Friday the 14th of Rajab he pitched his tents on the banks of the river of Aḥmadábád, and the Khuṭbah[1] was read. On the 20th of this month Sayyid Maḥmúd Khán Bárha and Shaikh Maḥmúd Bokhárí brought the Emperor's harem into the Imperial camp.

On Monday the 2nd of Sha'bán[2] the Emperor set out from Aḥmadábád in the direction of Cambay with the intention of repulsing Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá, who had seized Bhroj and Barodah and Súrat. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, who was the leading man among the Amírs of Gujrát, seized this opportunity, and escaping from Aḥmadábád, fled to Aḥmadnagar. And, since it was impossible to put any confidence in I'timád Khán, the Emperor committed him to the charge of Shahbáz

[1] See page [1].

[2] The eighth month.

(P. 142) Khán Kambo. On the 6th of Sha'bán the Emperor arrived at the port of Cambay. On the 14th of this month he arrived at the town of Barodah, and committing the government of Gujrát entirely unfettered into the hands of Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, he dismissed him to Aḥmadábád.[1]

On the 17th of Sha'bán news arrived, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá had put to death Rustam Khán Rúmí in the fortress of Bhroj, and that he was intending to pass within eight *cosses* of the Imperial camp. On this account the Emperor, left the camp, in which was the young prince Salím, under the guardianship of Khwájah Jahán, and Shujá'at Khán and several others of the Amírs, and having sent Shahbáz Khán to fetch Sayyid Maḥmúd Bárha, and Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram and the rest of the Amírs, who had been appointed to go towards Súrat, he took with him Malik-ush-Sharq Gujrátí as his guide, and set off by forced marches with the intention of extirpating Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain. When the Emperor arrived at the banks of the river Mahindrí, night had come on. He crossed with 40 horse, when news was brought that Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain had alighted in the town of Sarnál on the other side of the river. So the faithful companions of the Emperor began to arm themselves. During the night the Amírs, who had been sent to Súrat, were enabled to form a junction with the Emperor. Mán Singh was appointed to lead the vanguard, and with 100 men crossed the river. Then Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, who had a force of 1,000 horse, when news came to him of the rapid approach of the Emperor, evacuated the town of Sarnál by another road, and drew up his army in the plain with the intention of making a determined stand. Mán Singh advanced in one direction by the broken ground and shallows on the banks of the river Mahindrí, and the Emperor by another road. At last a collision between the opposite parties took place. Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá charged against Bábá Khán Qáqshál and his company of archers, and made them fall back for a considerable distance, and some were killed on both sides. (P. 143). At this moment a son of Rájah Bhagvant Dás[2], named

[1] Capital of Gujrát.

[2] Son of Rájah Bihárí Mall.

Bhunpat[1] met with his death in that conflict. Then the enemy, taking courage, charged the imperial army, which was in position on uneven ground closely hemmed in on either side by a growth of prickly-pears.[2] Three of the enemy pressed forward in front of the rest. One of them attacked Rájah Bhagvant Dás, who struck him with a hand-pike from behind the prickly-pears, and compelled him to retire wounded. The other two made a rush at the Emperor, who was in front of his men; but they could not stand his blows, and had to retire, and Maqbúl Khán a *ghulám* of Sarkh Badakhshí went in pursuit of those two fellows. Then the imperial army made an attack on all sides on Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, which he was not able to withstand, and so took to flight. Many of his men were killed in this conflict, and innumerable were the slain. After he had gained the victory, as night was coming on, the Emperor ordered the pursuit to be abandoned. So Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá with a few followers managed to reach Sarohí[3] by way of Aḥmadnagar. Thence he came to Nágor, where he again engaged the Amírs, and being put to flight he passed by Dihlí and returned once more to the district of Sambhal. The issue of the event will be recounted in its proper place,[4] if God, He is exalted, will.

On the 18th of Sha'bán[5] the Emperor returned, and rejoined the imperial camp at Barodah. Thence he set out with the object of reducing the fort of Súrat. This fort had been built by Khudáwand Khán, Wazír of Gujrát, on the bank of the river[6] to oppose the Portuguese in the year nine hundred and forty-seven (947). After the death of Chingíz Khán (P. 144) the Mirzás had seized it. And when Gujrát was conquered, the Mírzás, having shut up their families and dependants in their place, and having entrusted the absolute government of it to one Hamzabán by name, chamberlain

[1] Sanskrit *Bhuvan-patí* 'world-protector'. His other sons were Rájah Mán Singh, Mádhú Singh, and Prataáb Singh.

[2] *Az-zaqqúm*, a tree said in the Qur'án (XXXVII, 60) to grow in the midst of Hell. It is the *euphorbia* of the ancients.

[3] In Rájpútána.

[4] Text p. 149.

[5] The eighth month.

[6] Taptí is the name of the river.

to the late Emperor, who had fled from the service of the present Emperor and gone over to the enemy, scattered themselves about the district and kept laying the foundation of rebellion. But, when news of the defeat of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá reached the garrison of that fort, Gulrúkh Bégum, daughter of Kámrán Mirzá and wife of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá, took with her her son Muzaffar Ḥusain (who is now honoured with the dignity of being son-in-law of the Emperor), and made for the Dakkan. And Sháh Qulí Khán *Maḥram*[1], who together with Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and others had previously been appointed to besiege the fort, went a considerable distance in pursuit of the Mirzá's men, and then came back with part of his baggage and effects which they had succeeded in capturing. Now before the arrival of the Emperor in person, he had sent Rájah Todarmal to thoroughly reconnoitre the fort, and with instructions to submit to H. I. Majesty an accurate statement of the results of his investigation. He represented to the Emperor that the fort might be taken as easily as possible in a very short time. Accordingly on the 18th of the blessed month Ramzán[2] the Emperor encamped at one *cos* distant from the fort, and proceeded to surround it, as the halo surrounds the moon. He distributed[3] the entrenchments [among his forces] and by perpetual assaults he reduced the garrison to extremities. In the course of two months he threw up immense mounds and high batteries, and the gunners and artillerymen kept up such a fire from under cover of them, that not an individual of the garrison of the fort dared to show his head. On the other side of the fort, which was contiguous to a tank of water he built a palace, and throwing up dams in its vicinity he cut off the water-supply from the besieged. Then the inhabitants of the fort sent out one Múláná Nizám-ud-dín by name, a student of the art of rhetoric, (P. 145) to sue for quarter on the score of their weakness, defeat, and misery. Through the intervention of the Amírs

[1] So called because the Emperor, from good-will towards him, admitted him into his female apartments (*ḥaram*). See further in Blochm., p. 306.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] *Bakhsh kardah* seems to mean "having distributed," (like *taqsím namúdah*) but the author does not specify among whom. The reading of the Lak'hnou lithographed edition is the same.

he was admitted to an audience, and the petition of the people of the fort attained the grade of acceptance, and he was dismissed to announce to them the joyful news. The Emperor appointed Qásim 'Alí Khán Bakkál, and Khwájah Doulat Názír to go and re-assure Hamzabán and all the besieged, and to bring them to an audience. And a number of orthodox clerks were appointed to write down the names of the men, and to make an inventory of the property, so that everything was brought before[1] His Majesty.

Out of the whole number of the people, the Emperor, after a severe reprimand and admonition, gave over to the keeper of prisoners a few others as well as Hamzabán, who during the time of the siege had let fall some rude words, and impolite expressions. All the others he freely pardoned. This victory took place on the twenty-third of the month Shawwál[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). And Ashraf Khán *Mír Munshí* composed this *qiṭ'ah* :—

"The country-subduer Akbar Ghází,[3] without dispute
There is no key of the forts of the world like his sword.
He has taken by assault the fort of Súrat,
The victory was gained only by his auspicious arm.
The date of the victory is *He has taken a wonderful fort*,[4]
But to the fortune of the Sháh of the world such things are not wonderful."

The next day the Emperor went to inspect the fort, and gave orders that its breaches and ruins should be repaired and rebuilt. During this inspection he came across some large cannon, and immense pieces of ordinance. They had been brought by sea by Sulaimán Sulṭán the Emperor of Turkey, when he came with a large army intending to take possession of the ports of Gujrát; but afterwards on account of some adverse circumstances that army retired, and those cannon from that time were left behind (P. 146) on the river

[1] For this expression compare Text, p. 275, l. 6, and 292, l. 4 *infra*.
[2] The tenth month.
[3] *Ghází* means one who fights against infidels, not *victorious*.
[4] 70 + 3 + 2 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 980.

bank. At the time of the building of Súrat Khudáwand Khán Wazír brought most[1] of them into the fort, and the remainder the Governor of Júnágaṛh dragged into that fortress. The Emperor commanded that they should be removed from there, where so many were of no use, and be carried to the fortress of Ágrah.

They say that the reason for Khudáwand Khán's building this fort was, that the Portuguese used to exercise all kinds of animosity and hostility against the people of Islám, and used to occupy themselves in devastating the country, and tormenting the pious. At the time of the commencement of the building they ceased not to throw the builders into confusion, firing continually at them from their ships, but they could not prevent them. The architects skilled in geometry and expert in subtleties carried the foundations of the centre of the fort down to the water, and also dug a moat of the same depth, and on the two sides of the fort which adjoined the land they built a wall of stone, adamant, and burnt brick. The length of the wall was thirty-five yards, and the breadth of the four walls of the fort was fifteen yards, and their height as well as the depth of the moat was twenty yards. The centres of each two stones were joined with iron clamps, and the interstices and joints were made firm with molten lead. The battlements and embrasures were so lofty and beautiful that the eye of the spectator was astonished at them. On the bastions which overlooked the sea they made a gallery, which in the opinion of the Europeans, is a speciality of Portugal and an invention of their own. The Europeans were very much opposed to the building of that *Choukandí*,[2] and endeavoured to prevent it by force of arms. But at last they resorted to peaceful measures, and agreed to pay a round sum of money, if they would leave off building the *Choukandí*. But Khudáwand Khán through his love and zeal for (P. 147) Islám gave the reins to his high spirit, and would not consent, and in spite of the Christians soon carried out his purpose of completing the building.

The very same day the Emperor delivered over the fort to the command of the son of Qulíj Khán, and on the 14th of Zí-qa'dah he returned to Aḥmadábád.

[1] One seems compelled by the context thus to render *hama* 'all'.

[2] See Elliott V, p. 503 notes.

During the time of the siege several events took place. First of all, Mirzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, who had been a wanderer for ten years, and had at last fallen into the hands of Bahár-Jiv, Rájah of the district of Baglána,[1] was bound and brought into the imperial presence. The Emperor was content with handing this ill-conditioned fellow over to the keeper of prisoners, after he had given him a severe reprimand. Next, while at the halting-place of Bahroṇch the mother of Chingíz Khán[2] came and demanded justice, and sued for retaliation against Jahjár Khán the Abyssinian, who had basely slain Chingíz Khán. After the circumstances had been investigated the murderer confessed, and the Emperor had him thrown under the feet of an elephant. Next, while the siege of Súrat was actually in progress, Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá after his defeat went from the station of Sarnál to the confines of Patan, and joined Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá. Here they thought of a plan for raising the siege of the fort of Súrat. Their scheme was as follows: Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá was to go towards Hindústán with a view to stirring up rebellion, while Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá together with Shér Khán Fúládí were to lay siege to Patan, so that the Emperor becoming uneasy concerning their movements should be obliged to come to Aḥmadábád. Meanwhile Sayyid Aḥmad Khán had shut himself up in Patan, and made a brave resistance. Then Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán with all the renowned Amírs, who were the fief-holders of Málwah and Chandérí, went to the assistance of Sayyid Aḥmad Khán. And Rastam Khán and 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khán, and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhárí of Dihlí came to Aḥmadábád, and together with A'zam Khán returned to Patan. Then (P. 148) Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá, and Sháh Mirzá, and Shér Khán Fúládí raised the siege, and falling in with them at 5 *cosses* from Patan they fought so fierce a battle that the memory of it will remain on the volume of history. The right wing of A'zam Khán attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and also threw their left wing into confusion, and the Amírs doing all that valour could require of them stood their ground firmly until the breeze of victory fanned the

[1] The Text has incorrectly *Yaklána*. See Blochm., p. 323, and Brigg's *Ferishta* IV, p. 614.

[2] The late king of Gujrát.

prosperous banner of the Emperor, and they dispersed the enemy like flakes of scattered clouds, and the soldier pursued in quest of plunder. But Khán i A'zam[1] with a few men did not move from his post, when suddenly like an unexpected calamity Shér Khán Fúládí (who was a great opium-eater, and had been delayed for a whole watch at the latrines through constipation, which like a hand-grip, is a necessary evil with opium-eaters) arrived with 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen, more or less, on the empty field after both sides had done fighting, and attacked Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhárí, who was still engaged with a few of the enemy, and confusion returned and Shaikh Muḥammad became the rose of the garden of victory[2] :—

"He made a pen of his sword from the point to the hilt,
It wrote in blood the dictum : *He was not.*"

Meanwhile Khán i A'zam moved from his place, and charged those men on all sides, so that Shér Khán having contrived to rejoin his friends took to flight. When they asked him, "Why did you kill the son of your superior?" he replied, "We heard that of the number of the leaders of the Moghuls Sháh Budágh Khan and one other through excessive valour would not leave the battle-field, under the impression that it was they, we attacked Shaikh Muḥammad ; but certainly if we had known who it was, we should never have taken a step towards killing him." Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá went towards the Dakkan, (P. 149), and Shér Khán took refuge in the fortress of Júnágaṛh, of which place Amír Khán Ghorí was governor. This victory took place on the 18th of the blessed month of Ramzán[3] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). A'zam Khán leaving the fort of Patan in the old manner in charge of Aḥmad Khán Bárhah went to Súrat, and paid his homage to the Emperor. And Quṭb-ud-dín, and the other Amírs, having managed to hunt out of the jungles and forts Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian (who had escaped from those to whom he had been given in charge as prisoner, and fled to Aḥmad-ábád[4] and joined the enemy, and after

[1] Another name for A'zam Khán.
[2] Was slain.
[3] The ninth month.
[4] Another reading is *Aḥmad-nagar*. Comp. p. 164, l. 11 Text.

his flight had laid the foundation of rebellion, and seized several places), and having left stations and patrols in that district, at the time that the imperial camp came from Súrat to Maḥmúdábád joined the Court.

Towards the end of the month Zí-qa'dah[1] of the aforementioned year Aḥmadábád became the place of the imperial residence. The Emperor stayed in that place ten days, and having conferred the government of Aḥmadábád on A'zam Khán, and having given the other cities to the other Amírs of the Atgah-clan,[2] and having presented Muzaffar Khán with two and a half *cosses* as *jágír*, and having given away Sárangpúr, and Ujjain, and the whole of the district of Málwah, on the day of the Festival of Qorbán he marched out from Aḥmadábád, and in the month Muḥarram[3] of the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981), moving from station to station, arrived at Ajmír. At this place he received a letter from Sha'íd Khán containing news of the capture of Mirzá Ibráhím, and of his departure from a world full of trouble and degradation. And on the 2nd of Çafar[4] in this year the metropolis was once more glorified and adorned by the return of His Imperial Majesty.

The following is a compendium of the adventures of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá. He went first from Gujrát to Mírat'h with the intention of stirring up rebellion and revolt in that kingdom. He plundered a caravan which was going to Ágrah (P. 150), and came to Nágór, in which place Farrukh Khán, son of Khán-i Kalán, shut himself up. The Mirzá plundered some of the houses in the suburbs, and having stayed there one day went off to Narnoul. When he had arrived within 20 *cosses* of Narnoul it happened that Rái Rám and Rái Singh, who had been entrusted with guarding the road to Gujrát, taking about 1,000 horsemen with them set off by forced marches from Jodhpúr to Nágór. Then Farrukh Khán set off in their company in pursuit of the Mirzá, and alighted at K'hatoulí. The Mirzá fled without leaving any mark or trace, and so got off. When the Musalmáns in the camp were keeping the fast, they halted

[1] The eleventh month.

[2] See above p. 49, *note* 4.

[3] The first month.

[4] The second month.

by the side of a great tank in that neighbourhood with the intention of breaking fast, then the Mirzá, having gone some distance and returned, on the second night of the blessed month of Ramzán[1] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980) taking them quite unawares made a night-attack on them, and attacking them suddenly on both flanks rained a shower of arrows upon them. They on their side seized their shields and did not waver, but fought manfully. And he, since he could not prevail, and his men did not amount to 700, found himself in difficulties, and retreated. In that dark night many of his soldiers becoming scattered were taken prisoners in the villages and wildernesses, and were put to death on the spot where they were taken. Of this number a 100 men fell into the hands of Farrukh Khán, and became food for the sword. And others were wounded and after a hundred troubles managed to reach the Mirzá. But through the disgracefulness of their wicked enterprise their affairs nowhere prospered. So the Mirzá with 300 men, ravaging the country as he went, crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and came to the *pargana* of A'zampúr, which had formerly been his *jágír*. He thought that, since Sambhal was in its rear, a fortress like Mount Kumáún, and in front a moat like the Ganges, if he were to take refuge there and settle himself in that place, many men would return to him (P. 151). But this idea of his was not realized, and the imperial Amírs hemmed him in on every side, and the meaning of the [Arabic saying] "Expectancy hinders advance[2]" became manifest.

Ḥusain Khán[3] Mahdí Qásim Khání at that time, before the publication of the news concerning Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá and his going towards Dihlí, went to Kánt-u-Golah, which was his *jágír*, with the intention of quelling the insurgents of Badáún and Patyálí. Meanwhile Makhdúm-ul-mulk Múláná 'Abd-ulláh Sulṭánpúrí, and Rájah Bahár Mal, who was *wakíl* and absolute *wazír*, wrote a letter to him from Fatḥpúr informing him, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá

[1] The ninth month.

[2] Such seems to me to be the meaning of *Aṭ-ṭalabu raddu-ṭ-ṭaríq ;* but I am not sure.

[3] He was sister's son and also son-in-law to Mahdí Qásim Khán. (Blochm., p. 372). For this reason he is called *Mahdí-Qásim-Khání.*

having suffered defeat on two occasions had arrived in the vicinity of Dihlí, and that, since the Emperor was absent from the Capital, his lordship would do well to hasten thither as quickly as possible. In accordance with this request he proceeded in that direction, but when he had arrived on his march at the village of Oudh, in the *pargana* of Jalésah[1], news came in that Rájah Awésar, who had continually infested the roads since the accession of the Emperor, and had kept up rebellion in the vicinity of Ágrah, had now become a regular brigand. Moreover that he had already had many severe encounters, and obstinately fought skirmishes with some of the renowned Amírs, and had slain many excellent men, and was now hidden in the jungle of the village of Nouráhí in the *pargana* of Jalésah. At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzán[2] in the aforesaid year, when the men were off their guard and marching in loose order, and most of them were fasting, suddenly the rattle of musketry and arrows burst on them, and they found themselves engaged in a hot skirmish. The Rájah with the help of the villagers[3] had erected crows'-nests in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men became marks[4] for arrows and musket-balls, and some were martyred, and others were wounded. At the very beginning of the battle-moil (P. 152) a musket-ball struck Ḥusain Khán below the knee, glanced off and struck his saddle and spent itself on the head of his horse. He became faint and nearly fell from his saddle, but with great presence of mind he grasped the pommel of his saddle and kept his seat. I threw water on his face. Those who were around him and in front thought that it was perhaps weakness caused by fasting, but I seized his bridle wishing to draw him under the shelter of a tree, where he might be safe from the shower of arrows. When there he opened his eyes and contrary to his usual custom shot a glance of anger at me, and querulously made signs as much as to say, "What are you holding my reins for? You had better go down into the battle." So they left him in that state

[1] Elliot and Blochmann *Jalesar*.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] Comp. p. 10, *note* 2.

[4] The word used here seems to be the Hindí *bishai* = *bikhai*, Sanskr. *vishaya*, object.

and went down and joined in the fray. Such confusion then raged, and so many men were killed on both sides, that imagination were too weak to number them. Eventually, in accordance with [the promise] "Al-Islám shall conquer, and not be conquered," towards evening the breeze of victory blew to the side of the small handful of religious warriors, and the infidels company by company and crowd by crowd took to flight, but not before our soldiers were so tired that they could scarcely wield a sword or shoot an arrow. In that thick forest they became so commingled, that friend could not be distinguished from foe, and yet through weakness they could not make an end of one another. Some of the servants of God showed such fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy war, and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I on the contrary was so weak, that I took a single draught of water to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs:—

"Never does Heaven regard my affair,
Nor make me happy in granting me a single wish.
It moistens not my lip with a drop of water,
Except it rain my eye-blood on my bosom."

After this victory Ḥusain Khán returned by forced marches to Kánt-u-Golah, and strengthened those places. At the same time Ibráhim Ḥusain Mirzá, arrived in the neighbourhood of the *pargana* of Lak'hnou, which is (P. 153) fifteen *cosses* from Sambhal.[1]

In spite of that wound [Ḥusain Khán] riding in a litter advanced to Báns Barélí in order to force the Mirzá into action, and from that place he reached Sambhal in one day by a forced march. When the Mirzá became assured of this bold stroke of his, he did not see the advantage of fighting, but retreated by way of Amrohah, in the neighbourhood of Lak'hnou, and put a distance of fourteen *cosses* between us and him. But, if he had attacked Ḥusain Khán in his wounded state, God knows what would have been the issue! It was one of the mistaken pieces of policy on the part of the Mirzá, that he did not attack Ḥusain Khán when he was in this weak state.

[1] Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá. Elliot V, 505.

Mu'ín-ud-dín Khán Farankhúdí, governor of Sambhal, with a considerable force, and various other Amírs, *jágír*-holders of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge in the fortress, when they heard at midnight the roll of the drums of Ḥusain Khán, thought that the Mirzá was upon them, and were quite overcome with fear. But, when from the extremity of the fort the cry arose that it was Ḥusain Khán coming to their assistance, they came out joyfully to meet him. The next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fatḥ-ulláh Tarín[1], who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-islám Fatḥpúrí, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of them together with Tolak Khán Qúchín[2] and Bég Núrín Khán and Raḥmán Qulí Khán and Kákar 'Alí Khán and the other Amírs of the *jágír* of the neighbourhood of Dihlí, who were come to repulse the Mirzá, should wait for us in the *pargana* of Áhár on the bank of the river Ganges, and that when a junction should have been effected, we should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon. Ḥusain Khán exclaimed "Good God! The Mirzá came to this neighbourhood with a small party of horse, while you with an army twice or four times as large as his (P. 154) were at the fortress of Sambhal; and you twenty or thirty Amírs, all old soldiers too, with a large force are so dismayed that you would shut yourselves up in the fortress of Áhár, which is a regular rat-hole. This will give occasion to the Mirzá to become bold and to ravage the imperial territories. Now there are two courses open to us, one of which we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges, and under cover of that old fortress must intercept the Mirzá, and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mirzá, while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects." But they could not agree upon any course until Ḥusain Khán, driven by necessity, went off in haste with the horsemen he had to the Amírs at Áhár, and inveighed loudly against their shutting themselves up in that fortress. He brought them out, and in turn held a council with them. "The enemy," he said, "is enclosed in the heart of the country, and is just like a

[1] Another reading is *Afghán Tarbaní*, and Elliot (Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí) *Tarbatí*.

[2] See p. 54, *note* 2.

hare appearing in the midst of a camp, if you move briskly we shall be able to make a fine *coup* and take him alive, and the glory of the victory will be yours." They replied: "In accordance with the written instructions of Makhdúm-ul-mulk and Rájah Bahár Mal we have driven the Mirzá out of the neighbourhood of Dihlí, and compelled him to make for Sambhal. Now Mu'ín-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, commandant of that district, and the *jágír*-holders of that neighbourhood are responsible for the matter. But we are merely ordered to defend Dihlí, and not to wage a war against the Mirzá, a course in which various dangers are to be dreaded.[1] Meanwhile intelligence arrived that the Mirzá had plundered Amrohah, and having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Choubálah was marching rapidly on Láhór. Then Ḥusain Khán, being convinced of lack of loyalty on the part of the Amírs, (P. 155) hastily separated himself from them, and went by forced marches to Gaḍha Muktésar in order to capture the Mirzá:—

"Take up thine abode with the favorites of fortune,
Flee, swift as an arrow, from the unfortunate."

The only ones of the imperial Amírs who supported him were Turk Subḥán Qulí and Farrukh Díwánah; but while he was at this place the Amírs of Áhár wrote him a letter, saying: "Do not be in a hurry, for we will join you. Eleven are better than nine." And they came more by compulsion than of free will, and the verse[2] of the glorious word: "Thou lookest on them as united, but their hearts are divided" exactly fits the case of those people. The Mirzá, like the rook on a cleared chess-board, came into the heart of the country, plundering and ravaging the towns in his way. When he arrived at the village of Páyal, the Mirzá's men committed such atrocities on the Musalmán people and their families as cannot well be described. For instance, twelve virgins in that village were ill-treated to such a degree that they died. Other towns were treated in just

[1] They meant, doubtless, that they were not sure how far they might be pleasing the Emperor, if they proceeded to extremities with the Mirzá, whose wife Gulrúkh Bégum was a daughter of Kámrán Mirzá and consequently the Emperor's first cousin. But see the result, p. 161 Text.

[2] Al Qur'án LIX, 14.

the same way. Ḥusain Khán advanced gradually in the track of the Mirzá, with the Amírs in his rear, till they came to Sarhind. At that place they turned refractory and took the opportunity of all remaining behind. But Ḥusain Khán not being content [to remain] with the force that he had, which did not number 100 men, left Sarhind by rapid marches, together with the two [Amírs mentioned above], and arrived at Lúdiyánah. There intelligence arrived that on the Mirzá's reaching the environs of Láhór, the garrison had shut the gates against him, and that the Mirzá had passed on thence and gone to Sher Gaḍha and Jahní.

Now Ḥusain Qulí Khán, who was beseiging Nagarkot and the fort of Kangṛah, heard of the Mirzá's doings, and having made an agreement with the Hindús (P. 156), and received from the people of Nagarkót five *man* of gold as a *douceur*, after reading the *khuṭbah* in the Emperor's name, set out from that place with Mirzá Yúsuf Khán and Masnadi 'Álí[1] Fattú, a *ghulám* of 'Adalí, Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, Rájah Bírbar, and other Amírs, and pursued him as far as Sankrah. When Ḥusain Khán heard news of this, under the influence of that madness which so often attacks the wits of poor mortals, he swore an oath that he would not touch food until he came up with Ḥusain Qulí Khán. He crossed the river Biyáh at the ford of Talwandí, and went by forced marches to Sher Gaḍha a dependency of Jahní. There he paid a visit to his reverence Shaikh Dá'úd Qádirí Jahní-wál, the greatest Pole-star, the master and asylum of sainthood (God sanctify his tomb!). When food was served, he excused himself from eating on account of his oath. The Shaikh observed that it was easy to atone for an oath, but silly to distress one's friends. The Khán immediately called for a slave, and set him free,[2] and thus atoned for his oath. He then partook

[1] *Masnadi 'Álí* is an Afghán title. It was given to Fattú Khán, or Fatḥ Khán. He seems to be the same Fatḥ Khán whom Sulaimán Kararání put in charge of Rohtás in Bihár (Text, p. 77). Blochm. p. 502.

[2] Al Qur'án V, 91. "God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths ..... the expiation of such [an oath shall be] the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate food as ye feed your families withal; or to clothe them; or *to free the neck;* but he who shall not find [wherewith to perform one of these three things] shall fast three days."

of food, and benefited by the gracious words which he heard. He remained there that night. The monastery of the Shaikh provided entertainment for all the party, and his private fields furnished grass and corn for the horses. In the morning he left the place.

Three days after this I came from Láhór to Sher Gaḍh, and attended his reverence for four days, seeing and hearing such things as had never entered my imagination, and the mystery of the saying, "When they desire the remembrance of God &c." became manifest. And I extemporized some verses, which I presented, and they were accepted. The verses are as follows:—

"O! the stock of thine origin is free from water and clay,
(P. 157) Thy pure spirit like the Prophet is the mercy of the worlds.
Thy mighty name is David, through the impression of it,
Like Solomon, spirits and men come under thy signet.
"*There is the face of God*",[1] I could not understand for years,
I saw thy face, and the pupil of the eye of truth became clear."

I requested to be allowed to renounce the work and burden of worldly affairs, and to choose for myself the office of sweeping the monastery. But he would not permit it, and said that I ought now to go to Hindústán. So I took leave in such a desolate state of mind and distraction of heart, as may no other ever experience, and prepared to depart. At the moment of departure lamentation involuntarily burst forth from my sorrowing soul, and when this came to the ears of his reverence, although no one is properly allowed to remain in that monastery more than three days, he kept me there a fourth, and told me things, the sweetness of which still remains in my heart:—

"I go homeward from this door,
But my heart is without choice:
I lament so much that you would think
I was going to a foreign country."

And a few of my own adventures I propose (if God will) to recount in the appendix to this book.

[1] Al Qur'án II, 109 "The East and the West is God's: therefore, whichever way we turn, *there is the face of God*: Truly God is Omnipresent, Omniscient."

One stage from Tulambah[1] Ḥusain Khán wrote a letter to Ḥusain Qulí Khán, saying: "Since I have come 400 *cosses* by forced marches, if you would let me be a participator in this victory, and postpone the battle one day, it would be only friendly." Ḥusain Qulí Khán said "All right!," and sent the courier back. But that very day, as quickly as ever he could, outside the fortress of Tulambah, which is within 40 *cosses* of Multán, he commenced the attack. The Mirzá had gone on a hunting expedition, and was quite unaware of his approach. Some of the Mirzá's men were preparing to march, and others were quite unprepared and (P. 158) dispersed about, and not drawn up in any regular order of battle. Mas'úd Ḥusain Mirzá, younger brother of Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, took the initiative, and attacked the force of Ḥusain Qulí Khán, but his horse stumbled on the uneven ground, and he fell to the ground and was taken prisoner. When Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain returned from hunting, all chance was gone, and however bravely he fought and charged repeatedly it made no difference, and so, seeing that he could do nothing, he turned his reins and fled. The day after the victory Ḥusain Khán arrived at Tulambah with eighty or ninety men, and drums beating. Ḥusain Qulí Khán showed him the battle-field and recounted to him each man's exploits. Ḥusain Khán then said: "Since the enemy has escaped with his life, you ought to pursue him and take him prisoner, for the business is not yet complete." Ḥusain Qulí Khán replied: "Since I have come by forced marches from Nagarkót, and my army has been subjected to great exertions in the mountain district, and is not in proper condition, this victory is enough for me, now let other friends have a turn." Ḥusain Khán now hoped that his turn was come, and that the hardships and forced marches of 500 *cosses* had opened a way for him, so he took his leave, and pressed forward. Some of his men, who were worn out with fatigue, he sent with the elephants and drums to Láhór, and taking but a few men with him he continued the pursuit of the hapless Mirzá. There was but a short distance between him and the Mirzá, when one night the latter with 400 horsemen halted on the banks of the Biyáh and Satlij, at the point where the two streams unite. The Jhíls, who are a low

[1] *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí* has here Talwandí, Elliot V, 508. Comp. Text, p. 156, l. 6.

class of Multán peasants, assembled and made a night attack on him, and poured a shower of arrows (P. 159) upon him. The Mirzá with a party of men, some of them wounded, and some of them disabled and in a miserable plight, did what he could to beat off their assailants. But, in accordance with the proverb[1] :—

"A shout is enough for a conquered army,"

the Jhíls came off victorious. Suddenly during the encounter an arrow, by the decree of God, struck the Mírzá on the back of his head and came out at his throat. Then since all was over with him he changed his dress, and his men left him and fled scattered in all directions. But wherever they went, they became marks for the arrow of fate and went to retribution. One or two old servants of the Mirzá dressed him in the garments of a Kalandar[2] and endeavoured to get him into some place of safety. In his extreme weakness they brought him for refuge to spend the night in the abode of a hermit Dervish, Shaikh Zakariyá by name, who openly applied a molifying ointment to the wound of the Mirzá, but secretly sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'íd Khán at Multán : —

"Wherever an ascetic dwells,
There treachery is found."

Sa'íd Khán sent a *ghulám*, Doulat Khán by name, to bring in the Mirzá a prisoner, and wrote a dispatch and sent it to the Court at the time that the Emperor was coming to Ajmír on his return from Gujrát. When Ḥusain Khán heard of the capture of the Mirzá, he hastened to Multán, and saw Sa'íd Khán. Ḥusain Khán made some difficulty about seeing the Mirzá and said : "If when I see him I should *salám* to him, it will be inconsistent with my loyalty to the Court ; and if I do not, it will be uncourteous, and the Mirzá will say to himself, 'This *Qulqachí*,[3] when he received quarter at the siege of Satwás, thought good to make *saláms* without number ; now

[1] Roebuck I, p. 294.
[2] A wandering Musalmán ascetic.
[3] This word occurs again p. 191, l. 20 Text.

that evil days are fallen upon me, he treats me cavalierly'." When the Mirzá heard of his ceremonious words, (P. 160) he said : "Come and see me without obeisance, for I waive that." Still he made his *salám*, when he went to see him. The Mirzá said with sorrow: "I had no intention of rebellion and revolt, but when it became a matter of life and death, I took my own course and threw myself into a foreign country, but even there I was not left alone. Since by fate's decree this defeat was destined to come upon me, would that I had been defeated by you, who are my co-religionist, that it might have brought you into notice, and not by this Ḥusain Qulí Khán, who is an alien in religion and sect!" Ḥusain Khán then returned to Kánt-u-Golah, and there he heard that the Mirzá after a short respite had died in prison at Multán :—

"He counted a few breaths, and became helpless,
Destiny smiled that he too was no more."

Ḥusain Khán went from Kánt-u-Golah to the Court. And Ḥusain Qulí Khán came from the Panjáb and brought with him Nas'úd Ḥusain Mirzá with his eyes blindfolded, and a number of other prisoners of the followers of the Mirzá, to Fatḥpúr. They numbered nearly 300 persons, and he brought them prisoners before the Emperor, with the skins of asses, hogs, and dogs drawn over their faces. Some of them were put to death by various ingenious tortures, and the remainder were let go free. Ḥusain Khán had taken prisoners and taken with him some 100 of the followers of the Mirzá, men of determination (who had attained the rank of Khán, and after the defeat on the way to Multán had taken refuge with Ḥusain Khán). Now, when he heard at his own house the news [of the savage treatment of the prisoners], he gave these men leave to quit his *pargana*. Ḥusain Qulí Khán mentioned this body of prisoners, when he was in attendance on the Emperor. Ḥusain Khán sent a representation to Court that, since he had received no orders from the Emperor to put them to death, he had released that band of prisoners, and so had performed a gracious act which might be attributed to His Majesty. The Emperor (P. 161) forgave him, and imposed no penalty on him for the act. At this time Sa'íd Khán came from Multán to pay his homage to the

Emperor, and brought with him the head of Mirzá Ibráhím Mirzá, which he had had dissevered from his body after his death. And this became the foundation of his favour as a courtier:—

"Every bit of dust, which the wind blows away,
Was once a Fárídún or a Kaiqabád[1].
Sweet it is to practise fate's agriculture,
To sow[2] a Farídún, and reap a Kháqán[3]."

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) Nagarkót was taken by Ḥusain Qulí Khán. The following is an epitome of the history of the event. The Emperor from his youth up had shown a special predilection and inclination for the society of various religious sects, such as Brahmans, and musicians, and other kinds of Hindús. Accordingly at the beginning of his reign a certain Brahman musician, Gadáí Brahmaindás by name, whose whole business was perpetually to praise the Hindús, and who was possessed of a considerable amount of capacity and genius, came to the Court. By means of conversing with the Emperor and taking advantage of the idiosyncrasies of his disposition, he crept day by day more into favour, until he attained to high rank, and was honoured with the distinction of becoming the Emperor's confidant, and it became a case of "Thy flesh is my flesh, and thy blood my blood." He first received the title of Kab Rái[4], meaning Prince of Poets, and afterwards that of Rájah Bírbar[5] meaning "Renowned Warrior." When the Emperor's mind became alienated from Rájah Jai Chand, commandant of Nagarkót, who was in attendance at the Court, he appointed that fortress as *jágír* to Bírbar, and having imprisoned Jai Chand, he wrote a *farmán* to Ḥusain Qulí Khán, ruler of Láhór, to seize Nagarkót and hand it

[1] Comp. Hamlet I. 5.

Imperious Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
O, that the earth which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expell the winter's flaw!

[2] There is a play on the words *Kishtan* to sow, *Kushtan* to kill.

[3] The meaning is, to kill a hero and so gain the favour of an Emperor.

[4] Sansk. *Kabi Rája*.

[5] Sansk. *víra-vara* best warrior.

over to Bírbar. Ḥusain Qulí Khán, with the other Amírs of the Panjáb such as Mirzá Yusuf Khán, and Ja'fir Khán son of Qazáq Khán, and Tattú Masnadi 'Álí &c., first took by assault Dahmírí, and Gwályár, and Koltah an exceedingly lofty fortress, and reduced that district (P. 162). Then, leaving there a force to occupy the district, he passed over a very difficult pass with elephants, horses, camels, and his whole suit, and large cannon, and immense mortars, and laid seige to the fortress of Kángṛah. I myself in the year nine hundred and ninety-eight, when I went to Nagarkót, had occasion to cross that pass, and it is scarcely an hyperbole to say that the foot of the ant in those rugged places would slip through fear. Then Bidhí Chand, son of Jai Chand, thinking that his father had died in prison, shut himself up in the fort. The temple of Nagarkót, which is outside the city, was taken at the very outset. It is a place whither *lacs*[1] and *lacs* of men, or rather *krors* and *krors* of men, assemble at fixed periods, and bring ass-loads and ass-loads of gold and silver coins, and stuffs and merchandise and other precious things, store-fuls without number, as offerings. On this occasion many mountaineers became food for the flashing sword. And that golden umbrella[2], which was erected on the top of the cupola of the temple, they riddled with arrows, many of which may be seen hanging there to this day. And black cows[3], to the number of 200, to which they pay boundless respect, and actually worship, and present to the temple, which they look upon as an asylum, they let loose, and the Musalmáns killed them all. And, while the arrows and bullets were continually falling like drops of rain, through their zeal and excessive hatred of idolatry they filled their shoes full of blood, and threw it on the doors and walls of the temple. So many Brahmans, sojourners in the temple, were killed, that both friends and strangers heap a thousand thousands of curses on the head of Bírbar, who reckoned himself a saint among the Hindús (curse on them!). So the outer city was taken. Then they threw up mounds and batteries and opened a fire of great guns on the palace of Bidhí

[1] *Lac* = 100,000.
Kror = 10,000,000.

[2] *Chatar*, but property *chatta* or *chattr*.

[3] Called *Yaks*.

Chand. In this bombardment nearly eighty persons lost their lives[1]. Bidhí Chand by a hundred artifices (P. 163) managed to effect his escape, and got off in peace, but the fortress was within an ace of being taken. At this juncture news arrived of the disturbances caused by Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, and how that he was making for Láhór: moreover the army of Ḥusain Qulí Khán was suffering great hardships. For these reasons and causes he concluded a treaty with them. They paid as tribute five *man* of gold according to the weight of Akbar Sháh, which was one year's revenue of the temple, and much stuff and precious things of all kinds. And in the month Shavvál[2] of this year he read the *Khutbah*, and stamped coin in the Emperor's name is that district, and having put all things straight he built the cupola of a lofty mosque over the gateway of Rajah Jai Chand.

Then Ḥusain Qulí Khán set off to oppose the Mirzás. When he arrived at the village of Chamárí he received the honour of paying his respects to that paragon of pilgrims, that offspring of renowned saints Khwájah 'Abd-ush-Shahíd, grandson of Khwájah Aḥrár[3] (God sanctify his spirit!), who promised him victory, and gave the Khán his own dress as a present. The result of this prayer was, that having arrived by forced marches at Tulambah[4], he gained the glorious victory which my historical pen has already narrated:—

"We are deeply wounded in our hearts,
It will not be without its effect,
Be sure, on all those
For whomsoever we pray in sincerity."

In this year also Sulaimán Kirarání, ruler of Bengál, who gave himself the title of *Ḥazrati A'lá*, and had conquered the city of Katak-u-Banáras, that mine of heathenism, and having made the stronghold of Jaganát'h into the home of Islám, held sway from Kámrú[5] to

[1] By one shot. Ṭabaqát i Akbarí, Elliot V, 358.

[2] The eighth month.

[3] See p. 57.

[4] The Text has sometimes *Tulambah*, at others *Tulabnah*.

[5] That is *Kámrúp* in Assam.

Oṛisá, attained the mercy of God. His son Báyazíd succeeded him; but in the course of five or six months he was slain by the Afgháns, and his brother Dá'úd bin Sulaimán attained the sovereignty.

In this year, or in the year preceding, that remnant of the saints, and essence of the pure, that illuminator of the thoughts of the heart, and examiner into the secrets of sin, that attracted pilgrim, the righteous (P. 164) in his acts, Shaikh Nizám-ud-dín Ambit'hi[1]-Wál (God sanctify his spirit!) attained translation from this miserable caravanserai to the eternal habitation. A summary of the events of the life of that possessor of Perfection and Ecstasy will be inserted (if God will) in the account of the Shaikhs of the period.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981) the Emperor mounted a dromedary, to go and quench the fire of rebellion in Gujrát and to settle the affairs of those disturbances, and by forced marches went in the course of nine days from Fatḥpur to Aḥmadábád, and fought a battle with the army which was beseiging A'zam Khán in the fortress. He came off victorious, and returned to the Seat of the Khálifate.

The following is an epitome of those events. When the Emperor came the first time after giving Aḥmadábád to Khán-i A'zam, the rebels raised a general revolt in that place and followed each his own devices. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk[2] Gujrátí taking all the Abyssinians with him seized Aḥmadnagar and that neighbourhood; and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá came from the Dak'hin and first of all endeavoured to reduce Súrat; but Qulíj Khán shut himself up in that place and succeeded in keeping him at bay and repulsed him. So he retired on Kambháyat[3] and took possession of that place. A'zam Khán marched himself against Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. Several engagements took place between the two opposed forces between Aḥmadnagar and I'dar, and the claim of victory was put to the arbitration of the sword. And he commissioned Nourang Khán, son of Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán together with Sayyid Ḥámid to go toward Kambháyat against Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá. Muḥammad Ḥusain

[1] *Ambit'hí* is a town in the confines of Lak'hnou. Vol. III, p. 15 Text.

[2] Comp. p. 152.

[3] That is *Cambay*.

Mirzá in many fierce encounters showed time after time the greatest obstinacy and valour, but at last he suffered defeat and fled and joined Ikhtiyár Khán. (P. 165) The sons of Shér Khán Fúládí, and the son of Jahjár Khán Ḥabshí also helped to swell his numbers and to turn the balance of power in his favour. Their intention was to go by forced marches by a different route, and so reach Aḥmadábad. Khán-i A'zam outstripped them and got there first. Then he sent for Quṭb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán from Bahroṇch, and not having full confidence in some of his men he shut himself up in the fortress. Then the Gujrátees with a force of nearly 20,000 men, consisting of Moghuls, Gujrátees, Afgháns, Abyssinians, and Rajpoots came and beseiged him. Skirmishes took place every day, and Fázil Muḥammad Khán, son of Rashíd Khán-i Kalán was slain in one of those encounters. Khán-i A'zam kept sending daily dispatches to the Court, and urging the Emperor to come to his assistance. Accordingly he issued orders to the Díváns to supply with necessaries those Amírs who had gone with him on the former expedition, and to pay ready money from the imperial treasury to those soldiers who had served in the last campaign, which had lasted a whole year, and were now without accoutrements. To Ḥusain Qulí Khán he gave the title of Khán Jahán, and appointed him, with the Amírs of the Panjáb, to that province, and Sa'íd Khán he appointed to Multán, and sent them to their respective destinations. Shujá'at Khán he sent forward with camp equipage, and set out himself on Sunday the twenty-fourth of Rabí'us sání[1] mounted on camels fleet of foot and swift as the wind, and passing by way of Basáwar and Todah accomplished 100 *cosses* in two days. On the 26th of that month he arrived at Ajmír, at the blessed shrine of that Bestower of Splendour[2] (may the peace of the mighty God be on its inhabitants!), and attained the honour of paying a visit to that honoured shrine, and afterwards on the same day he continued his march. At the village of Báliyánah he reviewed the army, and settled the distribution of the forces. He gave Mirzá Khán,[3] son of the late Khán Khánán Bairam Khán, the

[1] The fourth month.
[2] Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chistí.
[3] See Elphinstone, p. 513, note.

command of the centre. (He is now the Khán Khánán and has been appointed to subdue the Dak'hin.) And (P. 166) Sayyid Maḥmúd Khán Bárha and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and others he associated with him. The command of the right wing he gave to Núr Muḥammad Khán-i Kalán, that of the left wing to Wazír Khán, and that of the vanguard to Muḥammad Qulí Khán and Tarkhán Díwánah. He kept under his own command 100 horse, all veterans and picked men out of thousands. His whole force did not consist of more than 3,000 horse.

On Tuesday the 3rd of Jamáda'l- avval they arrived at the village of Karí, 20 *cosses* from Aḥmadábád. A detachment of the enemy issued from the fortress, and drew themselves up across the line of march of the emperial force. A battle took place, and in the twinkling of an eye the enemy became food for the sword and were annihilated. Since the Emperor had given no orders for the taking of the fortress, they pressed on 5 *cosses* further, and when the imperial cavalcade came up, they halted there to rest. Then the Emperor distributed arms to the men from his private armoury, so that all might be fully armed. Áçaf Khán was sent in advance to open up communications with Khán-i A'zam. At this time the enemy were steeped in the sleep of negligence. When they heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed in confusion to mount their horses, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá with two or three horsemen rode to the banks of the river to find out what it meant. It happened that Turk Subḥán Qulí had also gone down to the river from our side with two or three men. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá asked him: "My lord, what army is that?" "The imperial army" he replied. The Mirzá said, "My scouts informed me to-day that they had left him fourteen days' march off at Fatḥpúr. If this be the imperial army, where are the elephants which always accompany it?" The other replied, "How could elephants (P. 167) travel a distance of 400 *cosses* by forced marches in nine days!" Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá commenced the attack with the army in battle array, after sending Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk with 500 horse against Khán-i A'zam to prevent his making a sally from the fortress. The imperial army crossed the river, but Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá anticipated them, and with

1,500 Moghuls belonging to Fidáí (who had already attained the title of Khán, and was on the look out for further promotion and *jágírs*, and was a man of great determination) charged the vanguard, where Muḥammad Qulí Khán and Tarkhán Díwánah were stationed, and swept them before him. The Abyssinians and Afgháns together charged the left wing, which was under Wazír Khán, and the warriors on both sides having come into contest a hundred lives were worth but a barley-corn :—

"Down to the fish[1] and up to the moon went
The foot of the standard and the knob of the tent.
The air became blue, and the ground black ;
The river boiled at the sound of the drums.
With his finger he directed the army to the plain,
An army that knew no bounds.
The royal bow came to the string,
One said *Take*, and the other said *Give*."

The battle raged so furiously that the event will be remembered for revolutions of generations and ages. Now, when the Emperor saw that his vanguard was giving way, he raised the cry "*Yá Mu'ín !*"[2] which at that period, and on that day, was his battle-cry, and making a desperate charge broke the ranks of the enemy, and dispersed them in the direst confusion : and many heads were scattered to the wind. Saif Khán Kokah at this juncture charged the ranks of the enemy, and plunged into that whirlpool from which he never rose again. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá did all that mortal endurance is capable of in that valley of strife and gallantry, and was not even wounded. But at last his spirit exhausted itself, and his horse being wounded he fled from the field. His path happened to be intercepted by a hedge of thorns, which he endeavoured to make his horse leap, when suddenly (P. 168) inexorable Fate seized his reins, and dragging him from the saddle threw him to the ground. One Gadáí 'Alí by name,

[1] In old Persian poetry the world is said to be supported on a *fish ;* but, according to Indian notions, upon a *tortoise*.

[2] "O Helper !"

a Turkí who had been hotly pursuing him, immediately sprung upon him and took him prisoner and brought him to the Emperor. He with his usual kindness and good nature contented himself with reprimanding him, and delivered him over to the charge of Rái Singh. Meanwhile Wazír Khán was contending manfully with the Abyssinians and Gujrátees, and in this hand-to-hand contest displayed his hereditary valour. When the enemy heard of the defeat of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, they turned their backs on the field of battle, and valuing dear life more than the chance of conquering kingdoms saved their lives by fleetness of foot. At the same time Khán-i Kalan performed his part in the action by utterly defeating the sons of Shér Khán Fúládí. And so the field was cleared of all trace of the enemy :—

"Thy servants in the field of battle are like tailors,
Though they are not tailors, O King conqueror of realms!
By the ell of the spear they measure the stature of thine enemies,
That they may cut them up with the sword, and sew them with arrows."

After the victory was gained, the Emperor ascended a hill which skirted the field of battle, and applied himself to investigating the individual acts of prowess of the combatants, when suddenly Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk, who had been employed in keeping Khán-i A'zam from joining the Emperor, when he heard the news of the defeat of the Mirzás, left off blockading the city and made his appearance on the open plain. Great commotion was observable among his men, and a great hubbub arose, so the Emperor ordered a body of men to discharge arrows at them. They raised a terrific shout of "*Yá Mu'in!*" and stretched on the dust of death the band which was marching in advance of Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. Now Ḥusain Khán was of the number of the very foremost in the conflict, so that the Emperor presented him with his own crescent cimeter which was the most renowned of cimeters. And Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk (P. 169) having broken his bridle fled with one rein, till his horse fell into a bed of

prickly-plants, like an ass into clay, and the swift-footed steed of his life also lost its footing, and became the spoil of the Turk of Avenging Death. Sohráb Bég Turkmán, who was pursuing him, came up and seized him. At this jnncture Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk said: "Young man you seem to be a Turkmán, now Turkmáns are followers of the blessed 'Alí and of his friends.[1] I am a Sayyid of Bukhára, spare me." Sohráb Bég replied: "How can I spare you? You are Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. I recognized you and have been pursuing you headlong." With that he alighted from his horse and struck his head from his body. Meanwhile some one else went off with his horse, so he tucked up the head in his skirt and walked off with it to the Emperor, and obtained favourable notice. Nearly 1000 heads fell on that battle-field and the Emperor ordered them to make a minaret out of those heads,[2] that it might serve as a warning to rebels. At the very time that the turmoil of battle with Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk ceased, the servants of Ráí Singh made Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá descend from the elephant, and dispatching him with a blow with a hand-spear sent him to the world of non-existence. And they sent his head and that of Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk to Ágrah:—

"Why dost thou tell the story of eloquence?
Hear a tale from Death,
That he may tell to the careless, deaf, and blind:
To whom I have given, from whom taken strength;
How I have bound the hands of kings;
In what fashion I have laid low palaces.
That he may tell thee how I break heroes,
Head and body and neck.
That when thou hast heard, through pride of power
Thou mayest not set thy heart on this faithless life."

At this time Khán-i A'zam came out of the fortress and paid his submission to the Emperor, who embraced him, and treated him with the greatest attention, and enquired with kindness after his welfare

[1] That is, are *Shí'ahs*, not *Sunnís*.
Comp. p. 10.

and that of the other Amírs (P. 170). The Emperor remained five days at the dwelling of I'timád Khán. He sent Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, with his son Nourang Khán towards Bahroṇch and Chánpánír to exterminate Sháh Mirzá; and Khán-i Kalán he appointed to the government of Patan, and Wazír Khán to Dúlaqah and Dandúqah. And Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Rájah Bhagwán Dás, and Lashkar Khán Bakhshí he sent off by way of I'dar towards Ágrah and Fatḥpúr, to reduce the district of Ráná Udai Singh; and the town of Badnagar[1] was taken by them. On the 16th of Jamáda'l avval[2] he himself marched from Aḥmadábád and encamped at Maḥmúdábád one of the dwelling places of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Gujrát. And from Dúlaqah he gave Khán-i A'zam and the other Amírs permission to leave that quarter. Mírzá Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Alí Qazawáni received the title of *Áçaf Khán*, and was appointed *Díwán* and *Bakhshí* of Gujrát. On the 3rd of Jamáda's-sání[3] the Emperor arrived at Ajmír, and while staying at Sángánír he appointed Rájah Todarmal (who had remained at Ágrah with a view to fitting out 1000 vessels and boats) to go and examine into the state of the revenues of Gujrát. On the 7th of Jamáda's-sání the imperial cavalcade arrived at the metropolis. The whole time of his going and coming did not occupy one month and a half.

On the 25th of this month the rite of circumcision was performed on their imperial highnesses the Emperor's sons. And on the 22nd of the month Rajab[4] the prince Sulṭán Salím received the tablet of instruction from the hand of the God-fearing Mulána Mír Kalán[5], the traditionalist of Herát (who was an angel in human form, and had been instructed by his reverence the paragon of traditionalists Mírak Sháh bin Mír Jamál-ud-dín), and learnt the lesson "In the name of the gracious and merciful God. The Merciful-One taught the Qurán."[6]

[1] *Barnagar*, Elliot V, 369.
[2] The fifth month.
[3] The sixth month.
[4] The seventh month.
[5] See Vol. iii, p. 151 Text.
[6] Al Qurán LV, 1.

(P. 171) In this year the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khán, who had been appointed governor of Sárangpúr, and appointed him prime minister, and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. And the Emperor ordered the debts of Shaikh Muḥammad of Bokhára, who was killed in the battle of Patan, and of Saif Khán, who fell in the last battle of Aḥmadábád, to be paid out of the public treasury. They amounted to a *lac* of rupees.

And in this year the Emperor presented a sword to Rajah Todarmal, when he brought with him a clear balance-sheet of the accounts of Gujrát. Then he sent him in conjunction with Lashkar Khán *Bakhshí* (whom most of the people of Hind call Shér Khán) to attempt the conquest of Bengál in the service of Mun'im Khán, the Khán Khánán. To Shahr-ulláh Kambúí of Láhór he gave the title of Shahbáz Khán, and appointed him *Mír-bakhshí*, and this rhyme was sealed with his name :—

> "By the blessing of the favours of the Lord of Conjunction
> I have reached *Shahbáz Khán*-hood from servitude."

At this time Mír Muḥassan Razwí returned from an embassy to the Dak'hin, and brought suitable presents from the rulers of that country. On the 16th of Shavvál of this year the Emperor determined on a pilgrimage to Ajmír intending to pray for assistance in the conquest of Bengál. At the village of Dáír, which is four *cosses* from Fatḥpúr, his reverence the refuge of direction, and possessor of saintship, Khwájah 'Abd-ush-shahíd,[1] grandson of Khwájah Aḥrár (may God sanctify his tomb !), made intercession for the release of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín, but was refused. Although the Emperor did not neglect any marks of due honour and respect, and publicly even read the *Fatiḥah*,[2] still his reverence felt much grief at the refusal, and went away much saddened. At 7 *cosses* from Ajmír the Emperor alighted, and on the 12th (P. 172) of Zí-qa'dah[3] he was honoured with the privilege of paying a visit to the blessed burial-place.

[1] See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text.
[2] Al Qurán I. See Sale *in loco*.
[3] The eleventh month.

On the 17th of this month took place the entrance of the earth-illumining sun, which is the greatest heavenly body and the light-giver of the world, into the constellation of Aries[1] :—

> "The body of the Sun, when it comes from the Fish to the Ram,
> The white horse of day makes the black horse of night white of foot."

And because of the dignity of this day, which he observes every year and passes in joy and gladness, he held a high feast in the ancient fashion, and distributed the sum of a *lac* of rupees to every class of person present at the assembly. On the 23rd of the month Zí-qa'dah the Emperor marched out of Ajmír (which in grandeur may vie with Constantinople itself), and arriving at his capital he set on foot preparations for an expedition to Bengal, and gave orders for the building of boats. Of that number one boat was lion-prowed, and another crocodile-prowed. And verily only sea-going vessels have such beam and draught.

Towards the end of the month Zí-ḥajjah of this year the Author by reason of destiny, which is a chain round the foot of decision, having parted with Ḥusain Khán, and come from Badáún to Ágrah, was introduced at Court by Jamál Khán Qurchí, and the late Galen-like physician Ayn-ul-mulk.[2] And since in those days the chattles of learning had considerable currency, I was dignified with the honour of a conversation the moment I came, and was enrolled in the number of the attendants at his assemblies. The Emperor made me dispute with sages, who boast of their depth of science, and who admit no uninitiated into their presence, and was himself the arbiter. By the grace of God, and the strength of my natural talent, and the sharpness of my intellect, and the courage, which is inherent in youth, I overcame most of them. When at the time of presentation they described me as follows: (P. 173) "This worthy of Badáún has broken the head of Ḥájí Ibráhím Sirhindí," the Emperor desired

[1] The vernal equinox, the *nourózi jalálí*, the beginning of the 19th year of the *Iláhí*, or era of Akbar.

[2] See Vol. iii; p. 164 Text.

that I should be presented at once, and his commands were issued to that effect. Shaikh Abd-un-Nabí, the *Chief Çadr*,[1] was very much offended with me because I had not made use of him to obtain my introduction. He used to take the opposite side to myself in disputation, but the proverb came true "He that is bitten by a snake takes opium," so that enmity by degrees turned into friendship.

About this time Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, son and heir of Shaikh Mubárak of Nágór, the star of whose knowledge and understanding was brilliant, came to Court, and received many marks of distinction.

In this year a lofty college and high and spacious palaces were built on the road to Ajmír. And the cause of this was as follows: His Majesty's extreme devotion induced him every year to go on a pilgrimage to that city, and so he ordered a palace to be built at every stage between Ágrah and that place, and a pillar to be erected and a well sunk at every *coss*. Ever so many hundreds of stags' horns, which the Emperor had killed during the course of his life were placed on these pillars as a memorial to the world. And *Míl-sháKh*[2] "Mile-horn" gives the date. Would that instead of these he had ordered gardens and caravansarais to be made!

In this year at the instigation of Shahbáz Khán Kambú the custom of branding[3] the government horses came into practice. And with one stroke of the pen he commanded the appointment of tax-gatherers throughout the whole empire, and that lands should be held directly from the Crown, as shall be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In the latter part of the month Çafar[4] of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the Emperor embarked on board the crocodile-prowed vessel with the intention of conqueriug Bengál. The reason for this journey was as follows: When Sulaimán Afghán Kararání died, who from the time of Islím Sháh had held the district of Bengál and become quite independent, his son Báyazíd succeeded him for a time, but on acconnt of his bad conduct after a short

[1] He held the office from 971 to 986.

[2] 40 + 10 + 30 + 300 + 1 + 600 = 981.

[3] See Blochmann *Aín* 55, p. 139.

[4] The second month.

(P. 174) space of time he was murdered by the contrivance of his brother-in-law Hansú and other Amírs. Then Dáúd the younger son of Sulaimán, who was his heir, took upon himself the title of king, and omitted the custom observed by Sulaimán of sending messages to inform the Emperor of his accession to power, and to assure him of his loyalty. News of the death of Sulaimán reached the Emperor at the fortress of Súrat, and he immediately issued a *farmán* to the Khán Khánán, Mun'im Khán, who was at that time at Jounpúr, to chastise Dáúd and conquer the kingdom of Bengál. The Khán Khánán levied a large army, and having seized two *lacs* of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute settled the matter peaceably, and returned. Dáúd, who was then at Hájípúr, at the instigation of Katlú Khán, governor of Jagannáth, by cunning management in exciting his cupidity for an elephant, got Lodí into his power and imprisoned him. He had been governor of Orissa, but had since taken a hostile course and had assumed independent and absolute authority in the Fortress of Rohtás. They tell the story that one day Dáúd went out hunting with a small escort, and that Lodí with 10000 horsemen of Sulaimán's formed the design of putting down Dáúd. But Dáúd went back to the city, assembled his forces, and scattered Lodí's followers. By his crafty management he got Lodí into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodí, knowing his death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dáúd. He said: "Although I know that you will be very sorry after my death, and that you will derive no benefit from it, still I give you one piece of advice, which if you act upon, you will prove victorious. And that is (P. 175), that you place no reliance upon that peace which I effected not long ago by means of two *lacs* of rupees. The Moghuls will never let you alone for this trifling sum. Be beforehand with them, and make war on them immediately, for there is nothing like the first blow." Dáúd thought that he had an evil design in what he said, and proud of the hollow peace which he had made with the Khán Khánán, but which was no better than a mirage, he put the devoted Lodí to death. Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity. When the Khán Khánán

heard this news, his loaf fell into the butter[1] and he turned towards Patnah and Hájípúr. Then Dáúd began to recognize the worth of Lodí, and repented of having put him to death; but what was the good of it!

"The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do!
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do!"

Having repaired the wreck and ruin of the fortress of Patnah, without even drawing his sword, or a single arrow being fitted to the bow, he shut himself up in the fortress. But on account of his drunkenness and injustice his people deserted from him, until the Emperor at the aforementioned date appointed Mírzá Yúsuf Khán to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and left Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán in charge of Ágrah, and himself set off by river. The following *rubá'í* was composed on the occasion:—

The justice-distributing and religion-protecting Emperor
The world-conquering Jamshíd Muḥammad Akbar,
Sat on the bank of the sea; like Sikandar[2]
Both sea and land became subject to him.

The Emperor took his eldest son with him. The face of the water was hidden by the number of boats and vessels (P. 176). And through the congratulations of the *Khárwáhá*, who are a sort of sailors used to the river, and through their shouts and cries in the language peculiar to them, the birds of the air and the fish of the water were well nigh made to dance. And such a spectacle presented itself as no words can possibly describe. Every day the Emperor used to disembark and occupy himself in hunting, and at night he would cast anchor, and would spend it in searching into science and poetry, and in recitals and repetitions.

[1] Roebuck's Proverb, p. 54. The proverb means "He was in luck."

[2] Alexander the Great is said to have sailed down to the ocean, and to have launched a boat on it—referring to his going down the Hydaspes. See Arrian VI, 3 and Thirlwall's Hist. Vol. VII, p. 34, Chap. LIV near the beginning.

On the 23rd of the month Çafar mentioned above the Emperor encamped at Payág, which is commonly called Illáhábás, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with a desire to obtain the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter Hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree :—

> " Although he committed the crime for the sake of reward,
> He went to Hell all the same by that road of water."

He laid the foundations of a great building, and left the name of that city *Illáhábád.* From Banáras he sent Shér Bég Tawáchí in a very swift vessel to the Khán Khánán. And on the second of the month Rabi'-us-sání[1] from a place called Yaḥyápúr, one of the environs of Jounpúr, which is the meeting-place of the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadí,[2] he had the boats of the Prince, with the ladies of the harem, and the judges and justices, towed against the stream of the Gowadí and sent to Jounpúr. He himself went up the river two or three days' journey, and then returning in accordance with a request of the Khán Khánán in the greatest haste towards the Ganges, he gave rein to his river-drinking crocodiles. At this halting-place news arrived of the death of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Bakkar, and of Muḥib 'Alí Khán's having taken possession of that kingdom. On the 16th of the aforesaid month the army arrived by land at the environs of the city of Gházípúr, and at this halting-place (P. 177) I'timád Khán, *Khwájah Saráí,* came to the Emperor from the Khán Khánán, and related at length the state of the army of the Khán Khánán, and pressed him to make as much haste as possible. On the seventh of this month Sayyid Mírak Ispahání a man learned in charms, who after the defeat of Khán Zamán[3] had lived at Jounpúr, at the instigation of Naqíb Khán studied a great book of sor-

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Often called *Gumti ;* but the name is properly *Gumati, i. e.,* "having-cows."

[3] See p. 99.

tilege, and when he had selected the letters and arranged and compounded them, the following verse came out as the omen :—

"With quickness Akbar through royal fortune
Will take the kingdom out of the hand of Dáúd."

And it so happened that it turned out just in that way. And on his return, when he was encamped at Jounpúr, the afore-mentioned Sayyid hastened to do homage to the Emperor, and offered him another omen. And this verse also came true :—

"The news of the victory suddenly comes,
The head of Dáúd comes to the Court."

The compiler of this epitome was at that time a friend of his, and I asked leave of him to study that lore, and he consented. But he said that this lore was a special privilege of the Sayyids, and that there was a certain condition attached to the matter, which was fundamental, and the observance of which was indispensable. At last I found out that this indispensable condition was the embracing of the doctrines of the foolish Shí'ah-s ! This sort of omen like all omens is a forgery and an invention, for any one who has a little thinking power can invent the like of it, as came to my own experience and was seen by me. And in those days, without the favour of the instruction of the Sayyid, I practised it myself. The wiser Jámí tells us :—

"The augur of the time, drunk and a stranger,
Sets forth his books in this way :
Not fearing the things of the next world,
And not asking about the things of salvation,
Having written some letters, by their side
And below them written some numbers,
Having conceived in himself an empty imagination
Entirely devoid of the ornament of wisdom,
(P. 178) A trouble to man, and a plague to men of science,
What is their *jafar*,[1] O *Ja'fari* Çádiq, ?

[1] *Jafar* means "charm," "sortilege." *Ja'fari Çádiq* is one of the Imáms, see p. 36, *note* 2. There is here a play on the two words of similar sound.

Ja'fari Çádiq is angry with you,
To the Çádiq-s there is a reproach from the liars.
It is better that the people of dignity and pomp,
Who have not their equals in the world,
Although [these augurs] are for wisdom the talk of the world,
Should not buy this tinsel of those asses.
Those jewels which the excellent have strung,
Those sciences which the learned have sung,
In the ear of their mind are but wind,
Their nature is pleased at the removal of such,
They call them all old and shrivelled [and say],
How in a dried up thing can there be any *fresh* taste ?'
I know not what you mean by this '*fresh*'—
Who calls the taste of new wine '*fresh*'?
The pretender who boasts of '*freshness*'
Let him spin his warf and woof '*afresh*.'
The old he has lost, and has not got the new,
The old he has dropped, and has not reached the new."

On the 20th of the month Rabi'-us-sání[1] the Emperor encamped at Jousá, and there news arrived from the Khán Khánán, that 'Isá Khán Niyází, one of the great Amírs of the Afgháns, who is generally known as Shujá'at, had made a sortie from the Fortress of Patna with war-elephants and a considerable force, and had joined battle, and been slain by the hand of a *ghulám* of Lashkar Khán's. And at this time Muḥammad Ma'çúm, son of Háshim Khán the brother of Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán (who was himself in the army of the Khán Khánán, and his son with the Emperor in the fleet) used every day to bring news from that army, and bring information from his father to the Emperor. By this means he rose to high favour, and the Emperor gave him the title of Khán—till at length what insurrections and rebellions did he not raise, what sword did he not draw, and what fruit did he not reap ! as shall be related in its place, if God (He as exalted !) will.

On the 10th of this month the Emperor encamped at the town of

[1] The fourth month.

Romní,[1] one of the dependencies of Bhojpúr, an old halting-place. From this place he sent Qásim 'Alí Khán Baqqál to the Khán Khánán with a view to asking him what he advised to be done. (P. 179) He quickly returned, and brought news from thence. When the Emperor asked him about Ḥusain Khán, and his brother Kúchak Muḥammad Khán (who had been appointed to help the Khán Khánán), he, on account of his badness of heart and malevolence of disposition, and among other things on account of a grudge which he had against him at Badáún caused by the contiguity of their *jágírs*, said: "The brother of Ḥusain Khán, Kúchak Khán, remains in the service, but Ḥusain Khán himself has gone from Kánt-u Golah to the neighbourhood of Lak'nou and Oudh, and is hovering round and harrying the Banjár-s.[2]" The Emperor was very much vexed at this bad assistance on the part of Ḥusain Khán, and the effect of his disloyalty soon became evident. For, on his return, the Emperor would not admit him to Court, and took away his *jágír*. At last he took his own course, and went to Mountains of the North, where he made war with the infidels, and was wounded. Disabled by this wound he came to Ágrah, where he gave up his soul to the Beloved, as shall be afterwards narrated, if the glorious God will.

On the 16th of this month the Emperor encamped at the halting-place of the Khán Khánán near to Panjpahárí, two or three *cosses* distant from Patna, where are five high towers close together, which the Indian infidels of former times had raised of baked bricks. The Khán Khánán presented him with caskets full of pearls, and brought as presents precious things and valuable silks, which were beyond all computation. From this place the Emperor dispatched with Khán-i 'Álam into the midst of the raging stream 3000 fully equipped horsemen in boats with such ornamentation and display, that at the sight of it the eye was rejoiced, and filled with all stores and munitions necessary for taking the fortress of Ḥájípúr, from which place aid used to come to the men of Patna. And Rájah Kachítí,[3] whose army and

[1] *Tabaqát-i Akbarí* (Elliot V, 376) has Domní.

[2] A tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain. They are usually left unmolested by belligerents.

[3] *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí* (Elllot V, 377) has *Gajpati*.

strength was such, that for the space of two years he had kept the Khán Zamán uselessly employed in jungle-cutting and fighting, (P. 180)—and even yet that jungle is not as clear as it ought to be—was appointed to go to the assistance of Khán-i 'Álam with a following numerous as ants or locusts, and a multitude of horses and mares. Then they joined battle having surrounded Ḥájípúr both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the waterside to view the battle. But, when on account of the distance and the thick smoke it became no longer visible, he placed some experienced soldiers in a boat, and in the afternoon sent them towards Ḥájípúr to obtain definite news. Then the garrison of the fortress set in motion against them 16 boats full of warriors. After a severe struggle this handful of men came off victorious against that great host, and joined Kháni 'Álam. On the other side Fatḥ Khán Bárha with a strong body of Afgháns was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he fell, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, and these he sent into the fort for Dáúd to see, that they might prove to him a warning and a scare. And this *mnemosynon* was composed and presented to his Majesty :—

"The umbrella of the King of religion for the conquest of Patna,
When it threw its shadow over the district of Patna,
On the spur of the moment the Munshí of thought
Wrote for its date : *Fatḥ-i bilád-i Patnah.*[1] "

The next day the Emperor mounted the Panj-pahárí to get a comprehensive view of the fortress of Patna, and he reconnoitred it on all sides. And the Afgháns, making a last stand determined to fight to the death, kept firing great gun shots, which from a distance of 3 *cosses* fell into the camp (!). And one shot passed over the head of the author, who was in the tent of Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán Jokán Bégí, governor of Biyánah and Bajúnah, and God (He is exalted !) protected me, and gave me some days respite ; but I do not know how long this respite will last :—

[1] "The taking of the town of Patna." 80 + 400 + 8 + 2 + 30 + 1 | 4 + 2 + 400 + 50 + 5 = 982.

(P. 181) "However much I have wandered about the world of form,
Adam was sorrowful, and his descendants helpless.
Every one in his own degree is a victim to sorrow,
To none is given a passport [of exemption]."

After the fall of Ḥájípúr, Dáúd, although he had 20,000 horsemen and fierce war-elephants without number, and powerful artillery, fled shaking with terror, and on the night of the 21st of this month he got into a boat, and making a free choice of flight set the road to Gour as the goal of his cowardice. And Sarhor[1] Hindí Bengálí, who had been the instigator of the death of Lodí, and had received the title of Bikramajít,[2] placed his treasures in a boat, and followed him. And Gújar Khán Kararání (who had the title of *Rakn-ud-doulah*) sent the elephants forward, and himself made precipitately for the plain. Great numbers through fear cast themselves into the river, and were drowned in the deluge of death. Another body, like madmen, threw themselves to the ground from the tower and walls of the fortress, and filled up the deep moat with their corpses. Another section were crushed under foot by the elephants in the narrow parts of the streets. When the fugitives arrived at the river Panpan, Gújar Khán sent the elephants over by the bridge which they had constructed over it, and proceeded on his way. But through the crush of people the bridge broke down, and many renowned leaders of the Afgháns throwing away their baggage and arms cast themselves naked into the river, and never lifted again their heads from the whirlpool of death. Later on in the evening the Emperor heard of the flight of Dáúd, and entered the city of Patna, and took 56 elephants in the city as spoil. The following hemistich gives the date :—

"The kingdom of Sulaimán passed from Dáúd.[3]"

He left the Khán Khánán in charge of the place, and himself went off in pursuit of Gújar Khán, who had all the elephants of Dáúd

[1] *Ṭabaqáti Akbarí* (Elliot V, 378) has *Srídhar*.

[2] Sansk. *Vikrama-ditya*.

[3] 40 + 30 + 20 + 60 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 7 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 983.

with him. He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and arrived at Daryápúr on the bank of the Ganges distant 26 *cosses* from Patna. (P. 182) He hastened on by forced marches, and about 400 elephants fell into his hands, but Gújar Khán escaped. Shahbáz Khán *Mír Bakhshí*, and Majnún Khán, who had followed him, went 7 *cosses* beyond Daryápúr, and brought word that Gújar Khán had crossed a small river called Balbhúnd, and that many of his men had been drowned.

On the 21st of the afore-mentioned month the Khán Khánán came by water to Daryápúr, and brought all the shipping with him. The Emperor remained 6 days at this place. He gave him 10,000 horsemen as an additional reinforcement to the Amírs who were with him, and all the boats which had come with him from Ágrah, and having increased the allowance of the army in the proportion of 10 : 30 or 10 : 40, and committed the whole management of the province of Bengál to him, the Emperor left that place and returned to Ghiyáspúr, which is on the banks of the Ganges.

On the second of the month Jamáda'l-avval[1] of the afore-mentioned year the Emperor appointed Mirzá Yúsuf Khán to the command of the world-traversing camp, and sent Muzaffar Khán with Farḥat Khán to reduce the fort of Rohtás, with orders that after he had taken it, he should leave the post of guarding it to Farḥat Khán, and himself return to the Court.

On the 3rd of this month the Emperor came to Patna, and arranged the affairs of the place, and took a general view of the buildings of Dáúd. And one of the remarkable things is, that in that kingdom there are some houses called *chappar-band*, fetching 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each, although they are only covered with wood. And on the 6th of this month he went to Jounpúr, where he remained one month. He placed that place and Banáras directly under the royal exchequer, and gave the management of them to Mírzá Mírak Razwí, and Shaikh Ibráhím Síkrí Wál. On the 9th of Jamáda's-sání[2] he set out for Dihlí the capital. (P. 183.) He encamped at Khánpúr, and while staying there Qází Nizám Badakhshí (who was the wisest of the wise of Badakhshán and Transoxiana, and from

[1] The fifth month.

[2] The sixth month.

the world of purity and the path of Çúfíism had attained many high degrees, and has left behind him a description of a portion of it, by the intervention of Fírúzah Kábúlí (who was one of those born in the house of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and has great experience as a student of all kinds of knowledge, and writing, and musical intervals, and whose mental stature is wanting in nothing) came and did homage. And "*The learned Badakhshí*[1]" gives the date. Qází Nizám was presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and 5,000 rupees in ready money. And on account of his lofty understanding and readiness of wit he by degrees attained the title of Qází Khán, and afterwards that of Ghází Khán; and then he rose to the command of 3,000 men, while Fírúzah, who was originally in more honour than himself, and was a jewel by birth, having beat a disgraceful retreat declined from what he was, and his business became reversed.

While encamped at this place a message came from the Khán Khánán to the effect, that when Dáúd fled from Patna he went to Garhí, and having strengthened that fortress and committed it to honoured persons devoted to himself, hastened towards Tándah. Immediately on the arrival of the Imperial army fear overcame the garrison, and without striking a blow, they evacuated it and fled.

In the month Jamada'l-ákhir, while the camp was at Shérgaṛh (otherwise called Qannouj) a book called *Singh-ásan Battísi*, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rájah Bikramájít king of Málwa, and resembles the *Ṭuṭí-námah*, was placed in my hands; and I received his Majesty's instructions to make a translation of it in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet of my work on that very day. A learned Bráhman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a sheet (P. 184), containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it *Námah-e Khirad-afzá*,[2] a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.

[1] 4 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 10 + 2 + 4 + 600 + 300 + 10 = 982.

[2] 50 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 4 + 1 + 80 + 7 + 1 = 989. The title means "The book of mental recreation."

At this time while at Karáúlí his reverence Khwájah 'Abd-ul-shahíd (God sanctify his spirit!) arrived on his way to Samaqand with a view to taking leave. He said:[1] "I wish to carry this handful of bones to that spot." He bound a sword round the Emperor's waist, and again[2] prayed for the release of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, but was refused. He was very much vexed and said: "What more can I say! He has lost his *Justice* and *Mercy*, I pray God that he may lose also the gift of *Faith*."[3] As soon as he arrived at Samarqand he was gathered, as he said he should be, to his honoured father (God sanctify their souls!)

On the 20th of Jamáda's-sání[4] while halting at the town of Iskandarpúr news was brought, that Dáúd having left Tándah (which is situate on the other side of the river Ganges opposite to Gour), without striking a single blow had gone towards the extreme desert and had arrived at Orissa, and that the Khán Khánán had taken possession of Tándah. When the Emperor was 3 *cosses* distant from Ágrah he turned towards Dihlí the Metropolis, and at the beginning of the month Rajab[4] that mighty city having become the tent of his prosperity, he spent some days in visiting the blessed shrines. At this time Ḥusain Khán, who had come near to Patyálí and Bhongoun with the express purpose of paying homage, was not admitted to the presence, and his Majesty ordered Shahbáz Khán, *Mír Bakhshí*, not to allow him to come within the rope which was stretched round the Emperor's tent. So he determined to become a Kalandar, and gave away to students and worthy people, and those who waited at the shrine of the late Emperor, and the people of the monasteries and schools, whatever he possessed in the way of elephants and camels and horses and other military stores. And "Alif! what hast thou?"[5] came true in his case:—

(P. 185) "For all this magnificence of the created world[6]
Is as nothing in the opinion of religious enthusiasts."

[1] See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text.

[2] Compare p. 174.

[3] The three words are *Aman*, *Imán*, and *Imám*.

[4] The fifth month.

[5] To be stripped as bare as the letter *alif* is proverbial.

[6] Lit. of "be! and it was." Somewhat similarly the Creator is often called in post-biblical Hebrew "He who spake and the world was."

When this matter was reported to the Emperor, he becoming anxious to show him respect, sent him a present of a shawl from his own wardrobe, and one of his own quivers and arrows, and gave orders, that he should keep for one season more the pargannas of Kánt o Golah, Patyálí &c., (which was a *jágír* worth 1 *kror*, 20 *lacs* of rupees), and that the tax-gatherers should not interfere with him, and that after he had put his troop on the footing required by the *dágh omaḥallah*, he should receive a suitable *jágír*. So he, who through his extreme liberality and boundless extravagance, and though exceeding all limits of reasonable power and the exhibition of it, was not able to muster 10 horsemen, procrastinating through force of circumstances, at length arrived at his *jágír*, and kept close to the northern mountains, and so left the Court, that his return is still *in nubibus* :—

> "Give gold to a soldier, and he dies for you ;
> Withhold your gold, and he will go forth into the world."

In the beginning of Sha'bán[1] the Emperor left Dihlí for Ajmír. While staying at Nárnoul Ḥasan Qulí Khán, Khán Jahán, waited upon him. Also Khán-i A'zam arrived by forced marches from Aḥmadábád. At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazán he arrived within 7 *cosses* of Ajmír, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettle-drums of Dáúd's, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence the Khwájah Mu'ín (God sanctify his glorious tomb !). And daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and *seances* for dancing and çúfíism took place. And the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails into the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. And *dirhams* and *dínars* were showered down like rain-drops.

At this time the Emperor appointed Ṭayib Khán, son of Muḥammad (P. 186) Ṭáhir Khán *Núri-farághat* the commandant of Dihlí, with a body of tried warriors to go against Chandar Sen, son of

[1] The eighth month.

Máldeo, who was oppressing the faithful in the neighbourhood of Joudpúr and Síwánah. On the arrival of this army he withdrew into the jungles, which were full of mango-trees, and fled.

In the middle of the blessed month of Ramazán the Emperor, dismissed Kháni A'zam to Gujrát, and arrived by continued forced marches at Fatḥpúr at the end of this month.

In this year he sent Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Jalál Khán Qúrchí, and several others of the Amírs to reduce the fortress of Síwánah,[1] which was held by the grandsons of Máldeo. Jalál Khán, who was one of the privy counsellors, was the most complete master of mirth and wit, and it was not easy for any one else to acquire such a hold on the Emperor's disposition by force of companionship, as this man did. He fought manfully, and attained the grade of martyrdom. And in his case the saying came true: "He enjoyed this world, and won the next." When Shahbáz Khán Kambú came there, he in a very short timə got possession of the fortress.

In this year the Emperor sent Mír Gesú Bakáwal [Begí] to examine into the affairs of Sulṭan Maḥmúd of Bakkar, and to guard the fortress of Bakkar.

In this year there was in Gujrát both a general pestilence and also a dearness of grain, to such an extent that one *man* of *jawárí* sold for 120 *tankas*, and numberless people died.

And in this year Khwájah Amína, the absolute Wazír, surnamed Khwájah-e Jahán, answered the summons of God at Láhór at the time of the return of the army from Patna. And Çabúḥí a poet in the height of his pomp and greatness composed this *rubá'í* :—

"Thy door is Alexander's wall to people of merit,
Why do they say 'O Gog!' when thy army it is.
(P. 187) In thy generation all the signs of the Day of Judgment are manifest,
Thou art Antichrist, and Khwájah Amína is thy ass".[2]

Although he was a very by-word for stinginess to such an extent

[1] In Rajputana about 60 miles N. W. of Joudpúr.

[2] *Al-masíḥ-ul-dajjál*, the false Christ, is according to Musalmán tradition the same whom the Jews call *Ham-Máshíaḥ ben Dávíd*. He is to appear first between Iráq and Syria, and to be riding upon an ass. See Sale's *Prelim. Disc.*, Sec. iv.

that he used to eat up the remains of his evening meal, still in the line of getting things done for those who made petitions to the Emperor, whether they were strangers or friends, his equal was not to be found in the world. Whenever he wished to accomplish an affair for any one of the courtiers, he used to settle it for a bribe of gold, at the same time he caused to be given to himself by the Emperor a páshá-tail, a kettle-drum, and the titles of Khán and Sulṭán, and whatever *jágír* he asked for he got it as a gift. And whatever man of learning or excellence came from Transoxania, or Khorasán, or 'Iráq, or Hindústán, he caused him to be endowed with a heavy sum of gold from the imperial treasury. Through his exertions also the Amírs were able to afford a great expenditure, and even to the other courtiers he allowed pecuniary assistance to each in proportion to his state. For instance, for Ḥáfiz Tashkandí, who was one of the disciples of Rashíd Mulá 'Içám-ud-dín Ibráhím Asfaráyaní (?) (who was without equal in the line of Arabic erudition, and who wrote a commentary on the Surah-e-Muḥammad[1] (peace be upon him !) from which his Çúfí ecstasy may clearly be recognized) he obtained from the Emperor and the Amírs about 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. Eventually he went to Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánán, with perfect appointments, and thence he started well supplied with gold to go to the sacred Makka in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven. When he returned home he died.

Among the witty sayings is the following. Ḥájí Ibráhím of Sarhind, who was proud and rude, and quarrelsome and contentious in argument, at one of the Emperor's select assemblies at the time of the presentation of the *Tafsíri Ḥáfiz* by Mírzá Mufliz, who was a master of religious philosophy,[2] asked "How is *Múśa*[3] declined ?" and (P. 188) "what is the root of the word ?" It so happened that the Mírzá could not manage to answer as he ought to have done, and so to the people, brute-beasts as they are, the superiority of Ḥájí Ibráhím became an acknowledged fact. And this is but one of the many injustices of the time :—

[1] Al Qurán XLVII.

[2] See Blochmann, p. 541, *note*.

[3] Moses.

"On account of their love of quarelling some people
Have lost themselves in the street of hopelessness.
Every science, they have learnt in the college,
Will ruin and not profit them in the grave."

And when the Emperor asked the Qází's son Shukr, whom he had made Qází of Mat'hura, "Why do not you join in the discussion?" he answered: "If Ḥájí Ibráhím were to ask how to decline '*Iśá*,[1] what answer should I give?" His Majesty very much applauded this speech. This sort of thing has gone on for ten years, from that time to this, and all that assembly of arguers and disputants, whether honest enquirers or sham, consisting of more than[2] a hundred people, not one of them now sees[3] [the light of the sun], but all their faces are under the veil of "Every soul tasteth death[4]":—

"The grass is grown on the site of their dwelling,
It is as though they were gone to a *rendezvous*.
Of the tribe of dreg-drinkers none but us remain,
Bring the wine, for we are the only survivers—that's something!"

And now, when in conformity with [the Arabic saying] "A favour, when thou hast lost it, thou recognizest," I call to mind these my companions, a blood-stream of sorrow flows from my woe-begone eyes, and one laments and wails and says: "In this abode of sorrow would that they had remained a few days longer, for in any case they were an advantage! But now all personal intercourse with them is precluded":—

"To be in a prison in the company of friends
Is better than to be in a garden with strangers."

But as for me this crushed gnat, this copied picture, what cure have I, save the wound of disappointment and secret wail, may God forgive the past, and have mercy on the future:—

[1] Jesus.
[2] Comp. Text p. 226, l. 1, and 234, l. 1.
[3] Comp. *οἱ βλέποντες*.
[4] Al Qurán iii, 182; xxi, 36; xxix, 57.

"Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and best (P. 189)
That Time and Fate of all their Vintage prest,
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to Rest".[1]

In this year an order was promulgated for improving the cultivation of the country, and for bettering the condition of the *raiyats*. All the *pargannas* of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in deserts and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells, were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation would produce one *kror* of *tankas*, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called *Krorí*, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers, so that in the course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers. The measurement was begun in the neighbourhood of Fatḥpúr. One *kror* was named Ádámpúr, another Shespúr, and so on, according to the names of the various prophets. Officers were appointed, but eventually they did not carry out the regulations as they ought to have done. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the *Krorís*, the wives and children of the *raiyats* were sold and scattered abroad and everything was thrown into confusion. But the *krorís* were brought to account by Rájah Todar Mal, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. Their condition was like that of the devout Hindús in the country of Kámrúp, who having dedicated themselves to their idol, (P. 190) live for one year in the height of

[1] Omar Khayyám, transl. Fitzgerald, p. 5. The recension quoted by our Author gives the following :—

"Alas! for my friends are all gone from hand,
One by one they are become low at the foot of death.
They became weak-headed in the wine-party of life,
And became drunk one moment before us."

luxury, enjoying everything that comes to their hands ; but at the end of the period, one by one they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its car, or offer up their heads to the idol. The whole country, with the exception of those held immediately from the Crown (*Kháliçah*-lands), were held by the Amírs as *jágír* : and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leasure to look after the troops, or to take an interest in the people. In cases of emergency they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war ; but of really useful soldiers there were none. Shahbáz Khán,[1] the *Mír Bakhshí*, introduced the custom and rule of *dágh u maḥall*, which had been the rule of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-din Khiljí, and afterwards the law under Shér Sháh. It was settled that every Amír should commence as commander of twenty (*Bístí*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, &c., as had been ordered ; and when according to the rule he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a commander of 100 (*Çadí*), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels in proportion to their command (*mançab*), according to the same rule. When they had brought to the muster their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of commander of 1000 (*Hazárí*), or 2000 (*Dúhazárí*), or even of 5000 (*Panjhazárí*), which is highest command ; but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be degraded. But notwithstanding this new regulation the condition of the soldiers grew worse, because the Amírs did as they pleased. For they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants into soldiers' clothes, brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their *jágírs* they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose. (P. 191) Hence while the income and expediture of the *mançabdár* remained *in statu quo*, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless

[1] On the text of this passage see Blochmann, p. 242, *note* 2.

soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers and cotton-cleaners, carpenters, and green-grocers, both Hindú and Musalmán, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a command, or were made *Krorís*, or *Aḥadís*, or *Dákhilís*[1] to some one; and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot. Many times it happened at the musters, before the Emperor himself in his special audience hall that they were weighed in their clothes with their hands and feet tied, when they were found to weigh from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *man* more or less; and after inquiry it was found that they were all hired, and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles. His Majesty then used to say, "With my eyes thus open I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on." After some time had passed away His Majesty divided the Aḥadís into *duaspah*,[2] *yakaspah*, and *nímaspah*, in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees:—

"Lo! see all this in my day, but ask no questions."

And this bazaar became much frequented, but the shop of real military-service[3] was deserted. But notwithstanding all this His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not very necessary, and the Amírs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their followers.[4]

In this year Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánán, sent Rájah Todar Mal with orders to go in pursuit of Dáúd towards Orissa, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál to go towards (P. 192) G'horág'hát, and went himself to Katak Banáras, in which strong fortress Dáúd was endeavouring to shut himself up, and commenced operations against him. Majnún Khán at G'horág'hát fought first of all against Sulaimán

[1] On these two terms see Blochm., p. 231.

[2] That is, having respectively one horse, two horses, and a half share in a horse.

[3] *Kash* = *Kamar* "girdle." Thus *Kashbandí* = *Kamarbandí* "military service."

[4] Turkí قلعچي means a s rvant, but not a royal one.

Manklí the *jágír-dár* of that district, who was distinguished for the number of his forces, the greatness of his pomp, and his excessive valour. Him he cast into the dust of death ; and the Qáqshál party took so many of the enemy that they were unable to carry them off ; and the wives and families of the Afgháns fell into their hands. Then Majnún Khán asked the daughter of Sulaimán Manklí in marriage for his son, who at the present time in the service of the Emperor ranks among the Amírs. Next making war in the neighbourhood of G'horág'hát with the sons of Jalál-ud-dín Súr (who once on a time had had the *khuṭbah* read, and coin struck in that district) they with the assistance of the *zamíndárs* of that district defeated him, and pursuing him to Tándah took possession of Gaur. Mu'in-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán Farankhúdí and Majnún Khán kept guard over Tándah, and awaited the news of the Khán Khánan's victory, until after the defeat of Dáúd, [and] the publication of the news of the Khán Khánán's return, the Afgháns retired into the jungles and effectually hid themselves.

Rájah Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of of Dáúd, in conjunction with Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Muḥammad Qulí Khán, and Muḥammad Qulí Khán Toqyáí,[1] and Muzaffar Moghúl reached Gwályár[2] a dependency of Bengál by continuous marches from Madáran. Dáúd went 10 *cosses* forward from that place and gathered a large force together [at] a place called Darínkasárí,[3] and fortified Rohírpúr[4]. Meanwhile Junaid, uncle's son of (P. 193) Dáúd (who was renowned for valour and bravery, and had formerly served under the Emperor, but had fled from Ágrah to Gujrát, and from Gujrát came to Bengál), arrived at the confines of Rínkasárí[5] and wished to form a junction with Dáúd.

[1] Perhaps this ought to be *Toqbáí* which is the name of a Chagtáí tribe.

[2] It should probably be *Gwálpárah* (note by Editor). Elliot, p. 385 has *Gowálpára.*

[3] Probably a corruption of *dar Rínkasárí*, "in Rinkasarí". Elliot, V, p. 385, has *Dínkasárí.* The confusion between ر *R*, د *D* and و *V*, as also between other letters which resemble one another is frequent in MSS., and printed editions, especially in the case of proper names.

[4] This ought to be Harpúr, see Blochm., p. 375.

[5] Here the word seems to be spelt correctly.

Rájah Todar Mal sent Mírzá Abu-l-Qásim, who is surnamed Tamkúr[1], together with Nazar Bahádur to attack him. But these two were defeated by him and returned with broken reins to the Rájah. Then the Rájah went in person to oppose him, and he being unable to withstand him took refuge in the jungle. Thence the Rájah went to Medinípúr, where he remained some days. At that place Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás fell sick, and passed to the world of eternity. His loss was a great cause of weakness to the Imperial forces. Then he returned from Medinípúr to Madáran.[2] At this place Qiyá Khán Gang, being offended with the Amírs without any just cause, retired to the jungle Rájah Todar Mal wrote an account of his doings to the Khán Khánán, and remained at Madáran. The Khán Khánán sent Sháhim Khán Jaláír, and Lashkar Khán, *Bakhshí* (who was once called 'Askar Khán and afterwards Astar Khán), with others to the assistance of the Rájah. They join the Rájah at Bardwán. Then he went off alone, and pacified Qiyá Khán, and brought him back. Afterwards he marched by way of Madáran and came to Bajhórah[3]. While at Borchín news arrived that Dáúd had left his wives and family at Katak Banáras, and was busy making preparations for war. The Khán Khánán came in haste to oppose him, and formed a junction with the Rájah. The Afgháns surrounded their camps with a moat, and fortified it.

(P. 194) On the 20th of Zí-l-qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the armies were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Bajhórah, and Mangalúsí[4] elephants were arranged on both sides. Such a tremendous battle took place, that the tongue of the pen is unable to do justice to the description of it. When the elephants of Dáúd (all of which were fed on good grass and were madder than can be imagined) were put into motion, the Khán Khánán ordered the swivel guns, and cannon which were mounted on carriages in front

[1] Another reading is *Ghamgín*, Elliot, V, p. 385 has *Namakí*. Blochm., p. 470 give *Namakín*.

[2] In Jahánábád, a parganna of the Húglí district, between Bardwán and Medinípúr Blochm., p. 375.

[3] See Blochm., p. 375. Elliot, V, p. 386 has *Jitúra*.

[4] The elephants of Mangalús were famous for their great size, and their white colour. See Vüller's Dictionary.

of the line, to open fire upon them. Upon this some of the renowned elephants, which were advancing, turned tail, and some of the veteran leaders of the Afgháns were mown down by the cannonade. At this juncture Gújar Khán, who was leader of the advance guard of Dáúd, made a sharp attack on Khán-i-'Álam, and Khwájah 'Abd-ulláh, and Kanjak[1] Khwájah, and Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Chogán Bégí, and Mírzá 'Alí 'Álam Sháhí, who composed the vanguard, and in the first charge put them to flight and drove them in on the *Altamsh*[2]-corps, of which Qiyá Khán Gang was the leader. Khán-i 'Álam, leader of the vanguard bravely held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamsh*-corps was thrown into confusion, and driven back on the main-body,[3] where the Khán Khánán with the other mountain-like Amírs had stationed himself, and the main-body was thrown into utter confusion and rout. However much the Khán Khánán exerted himself to stay the panic, and restore order, it was all in vain. At this moment Gújar Khán came up, and showered blow upon blow on the Khán Khánán, who being without a sword was obliged to parry the cuts of Gujar Khán's sword with his whip (P. 195), till at last the horse of the Khán Khánán being frightened by the elephants became unmanageble and bolted with him. He went at full speed for 3 or 4 *cosses* on the pretext of collecting the fugitives, and the Afgháns pursued him part of the way. Then Qiyá Khán Gang and some others of the archers[4] surrounded the Afgháns on every side, and pouring showers of arrows upon them, riddled their ranks like a sieve. The affair had reached such a pitch that neither friends nor foes had any longer strength left in them to move, when suddenly from the bow of destiny an arrow reached a mortal part of Gújar Khán, who was riding at full speed, and brought him to the ground. His soldiery seeing themselves without a leader fell into utter confusion, and turned their backs on the field, and many of them were slain. At this moment the standard-bearer

[1] Another reading is *Kajak Khán Khwájah* Perhaps the name is *Kíjak*.

[2] A Turkí word meaning "sixty." It is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general. De Courteille, *Dict. Turk.-Orient.* p. 31.

[3] *Ghúl*, a Hindí word.

[4] This word اوقچي is Turkí.

of Khán-i ʻÁlam[1] brought his standard to the Khán Khánán. Soon after this event news of the death of Gújar Khán reached Munʻim Khán[2], and he turning his horse rallied some of his men and poured a shower of arrows on the enemy, whose souls like moths began to flit from their emptied bodies. Rájah Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khán, and the other Amírs, who had taken their stand on the right of the Imperial army attacked the left of the enemy, of which Ismáʻíl Khán Ábdár, surnamed Khán Khánán, was leader. At the same time Sháhim Khán Jaláír, and Páyandah Muḥammad Khán Moghúl and other leaders of the Imperial left attacked the right wing of the Afgháns, where Khán Jahán, commandant of Orissa, was stationed. On both wings they drove the enemy back on the main-body, where Dáúd was stationed with the other chief Amírs of the Afgháns. His elephants were so irritated by the arrows that they turned round on his own ranks and threw the whole line into confusion. At this moment the standard of the Khán Khánán shone from afar as a sign of victory, and news of the death (P. 196) of Gújar Khán reached Dáúd, and his resolution was shaken, so that:—

" To save what he could he gave his body to flight,
He was content to receive his soul as spoil.[3] "

and most of mountain-like elephants moving like clouds he gave to the wind, and that proverb became true " *one soldier* flees, and it is all over with the *soldiery*. "

The Khán Khánán remained some days at this place to heal his own wounds, and those of his men. And Lashkar Khán, who had been mortally wounded, joined the host (*lashkar*) of the Father of all flesh[4]. Meanwhile Dáúd in his flight had reached Katak Banáras,[5] so the Khán Khánán sent Rájah Todar Mal, with Sháhim Khán Jaláír, and Qiyá Khán, and Sayyid ʻAbdulláh Khán, and

[1] He had just been killed. See above.

[2] The Khán Khánán.

[3] This expression is common in Persian for " escaping with one's life". Comp. the Hebrew expression Jer. xxi, 9, &c.

[4] *I. e.*, died.

[5] In the centre of Orissa. *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí.* It is commonly known as *Cuttack.*

Muḥammad Qulí Khán Toqyáí, and Sa'íd Khán Badakhshí in pursuit of him, and promised to follow them himself as soon as his wounds were healed. This army marched as far as Kalkal-g'hátí. Dáúd and the rest of the Afgháns held Katak Banáras, and finding the wide field of honour to be contracted around them, determined to fight to the death, and made energetic preparations to withstand the seige. When the Khán Khánán heard news of this, he set off in person for Katak Banáras and alighted on the banks of the Mahánadi[1], and brought forward proposals of peace. After considerable opposition and difficulty it was settled with the Amírs that Dáúd should come and have an interview with the Khán Khánán, and that a reasonable portion of the wide kingdom of Bengál, in conformity with the advice and consent of the Amírs, should be assigned to him. On the day appointed a royal feast in the style of Jamshíd and Afrídún was arranged, and the Amírs took their proper places in accordance with their ranks, and the troops were drawn up in splendid array at the door of the audience-pavilion. On the other side the officers of Bengál with a pomp and grandeur (P. 197) like Solomon's came out from Katak Banáras with the chieftains of the Afgháns, and entering the camp of the Khán Khánán proceeded towards the audience-pavilion. The Khán Khánán with the greatest humility and respect practised all the ceremonies of reverence, and even advanced half way down the pavilion to meet them. When they met, Dáúd loosed his sword, and laying it before the Khán Khánán said, "Since it brings wounds and pain on such worthy men as you, I am sick of war." The Khán Khánán gave the sword to one of his body-guard, and taking Dáúd's hand led him to a cushion, and made him sit down by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. All kinds of food and drinks and sweetmeats were served, and the Khán Khánán pressed him to partake of the dainties, and entertained him with great good humour and graciousness. After the removal of the dishes they proceeded to business, and drew up a treaty. Then the Khán Khánán sent for a sword with a jewelled belt out of his

[1] On which Cuttack stands. The word means "great river." The name in the printed text is a blunder.

own stores, and binding it on Dáúd's wrist said, "Since you have chosen the path of loyalty, accept this sword on the part of the Emperor. As for the district of Bengál, a *farmán* will be forwarded to you, in accordance with the request which I shall make." Then showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of precious gifts, he dismissed him. Thus the meeting passed off in all friendliness and good-will. On the 10th of the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the Khán Khánán arrived at Tándah the capital, whence he wrote a despatch to the Emperor containing an account of all that had happened. The Emperor sent him in return a *farmán* worded in accordance with his request, together with a present of gorgeous robes of honour, and a jewelled sword-belt, and an Arab horse and a saddle and bridle, and committing once more the affair of Bengál to his sole charge he entrusted the reins of independent power to the hand of his capacity.

(P. 198). On the 16th of the month Jamáda'-s-sáná (l-awwal) of this year his reverence the pole-star of pole-stars, the depository of spiritual guidance, and refuge of saintships (successor to that godlike *Ghaus*[1], that divine pole-star, Shaikh Muḥi-ud-dín 'Abd-ul-qádir Jílání) Miyán Shaikh Dáúd Jahní Wál[2] passed from this transitory world to the garden of Eden, and "*O Shaikh Dáúd Walí*[3]" was found to give the date. And the author found the following *mnemosynon*: "*Perfection of victory.*[4]"

After the Emperor's return from his journey to Ajmír in the month Zí-ul-qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the building of the *Ibádat-khánah*, consisting of four halls, near the new palace in Fatḥpúr, took place. An account of the details thereof, not devoid of prolixity, will, if the glorious God will permit be written on a suitable occasion.

It was during these days that Abu-l-Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárik of Nágor, came the second time to Court. He is now styled

[1] Any one of the seven *Abdál*, spirits which circle round the world, and are the servants of the seven Imáms, is called a *Ghaus*.

[2] See Vol. iii. p. 28 of the text.

[3] 11 + 300 + 10 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 6 + 30 + 10 = 982.

[4] 20 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 400 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 20 + 1 + 5 = 982.

'Allámí. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the *Çabáḥís*, illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight,[1] and representing himself as opposed to all sects, tied the girdle of infallibility round his waist, according to the saying: "He who continually takes the offensive, does not commit himself as to his true opinions." He laid before the Emperor a Commentary on the *Áyat-ul-Kursí*,[2] which contained all the subtleties of the Qur'án; and though people said it was written by his father, Abu-l-Fazl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words *Tafsír-i-Akbarí*,[3] gives the date of the composition. But the Emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abu-l-Fazl a man capable of teaching the Mullás a lesson (whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh), though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which his Majesty had placed in the auther of these pages.

The reason of Abu-l-Fazl's opinionativeness and pretensions to infallibility was this. At the time when it was customary to get hold of, and kill such as tried to introduce innovations in religious matters (as had been the case with Mír Ḥabshí and others), Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí and Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, and other learned men at Court, unanimously represented to the Emperor that Shaikh Mubárik also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdí*[4] (P. 199), belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him, they despatched police officers to bring him before the Emperor. But, when they found that the Shaikh with his two sons had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaikh at first took refuge with Salím Chistí at Fatḥpúr, who was then in the height of his glory, and requested-

[1] Our writer means that he preferred the lamp-light of human reason to the sunlight of Revelation.

[2] Al-Qur'án II, 256.

[3] "Commentary of Akbar's time." 400 + 80 + 60 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 + 10 = 983.

[4] The *Imám Mahdí*, who, like *Elijah the Tishbite* of the Jews, is to be the forerunner of the Messiah.

him to intercede for him. Shaikh Salím, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrát. Seeing Salím took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubárik applied to Mírzá 'Aziz Kokah,[1] who took occasion to praise to the Emperor the Shaikh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubárik was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he himself could really not see why the Shaikh was so much persecuted. The Emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaikh. In a short time matters took a still more favourable turn: and Abu-l-Fazl, when once in favour with the Emperor (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying the Emperor's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds), took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated, and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced people, but also of the ruin of all the servants of God, especially of Shaikhs, and pious men, of the helpless and orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down. He used continually to say:—

"O Lord, send down a Proof[2] for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrods[3] a gnat as big as an elephant!
These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up the hand,
Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile!"

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the *Ulamá*, (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following *Rubá'í* to them:—

"I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
(P. 200) As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy!
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict

[1] Akbar's foster-brother.

[2] That is one capable of giving the *Ulamá* a lesson, meaning himself.

[3] Nimrod and Pharaoh are proverbial for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat, which crept through the nose to his brain.

of any *Mujtahid*,[1] he used to say: "O don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller, or that cobbler, or that tanner!" He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaikhs and Ulamá.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the buildings of the *'Ibadát-khánah* were completed. The cause was this. For many years previously the Emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day; everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of his reverence [the late] Mu'ín,[2] and passed much of his time in discussing the Word of God[3] and the word of the Prophet.[4] Questions of Çúfí-ism, scientific discussions, enquiries into Philosophy and Law, were the order of the day. His Majesty spent whole nights in praising God; he continually occupied himself in pronouncing *Yá huwa*,[5] and *Yá hádí*,[6] in which he was well-versed. His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn. When then he heard that Sulaimán Kararáni, governor of Bengál, used every night to offer up the prayers in the company of some 150 persons consisting of renowned Shaikhs and Ulamá, and used to remain in their society till morning listening to commentaries and exhortations (P. 201), and then, after offering up the morning prayers, would occupy himself in State-business, and the affairs of the army, and of his subjects; and that he had his appointed time for everything and never broke

[1] A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Musalmán law. Like most of the great Jewish Rabbis, there were among the oldest many who plied a trade at the same time.

[2] Shaikh Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí Sigizí of Ajmír.

[3] The Qur'án.

[4] Traditional sayings of Muḥammad's.

[5] "O He (God)!"

[6] "O Guide!"

through his good rule ; and when also news arrived from Badakhshán of the coming of Mírzá Sulaimán, who was a prince of Çúfí tendencies, and had become a *Çáḥib-i-ḥál*,[1] and a *Murid :* for these urgent reasons he had the very cell of Shaikh 'Abd-ulláh Niyází Sarhindhí (who had formerly been a disciple of Shaikh Islám Chishtí, but had afterwards joined the circle of Mahdeva)[2] repaired, and built a spacious hall on all four sides of it. He also finished the construction of the tank called *Anúptaláo*.[3] He named that cell the *'Ibádat-khánah*, which became by degrees *'Iyádat-khánah*,[4] and Mullá Sherí composed a *qaçídah* on the subject, of which the following is a verse :—

> "In these days I have seen, united with the wealth of Qárún,
> The ritual of Pharún, and the buildings of Shaddád."

On Fridays after prayers he would go from the new chapel of the Shaikh-ul-Islám, and hold a meeting in this building. Shaikhs, Ulamá, and pious men, and a few of his own companions and attendants were the only people who were invited. Discussions were carried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. One day Jalál Khán Qúrchi, who was my patron, and the means of introducing me to Court,[5] in the course of conversation and disputation made the following statement to the Emperor : "When I went to Ágrah to see Shaikh Ziyá-ullah, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, I found that poverty had taken such a hold on his household, that one day at a meeting he asked for some *sers* of pulse. Part of it he used for his own food, part he gave to me, and (P. 202) the other part he sent to his household." The Emperor was much impressed on hearing this, and sent for Shaikh Ziyá-ulláh with a view to showing him kindness. He assembled a party in his honour at the *'Ibádat-khánah*, and every Thursday evening he invited Sayyids, Shaikhs, Ulamá, and Amírs. But ill-feeling arose in the company

[1] One who attains the state of ecstasy and close union with God.

[2] S'iva. That is he had Hindú-ized.

[3] Hindústání *Anúp* = Sanscrit *Anupama* "incomparable" : and *taláo* corruption of *taláb*, from Sanscrit *taḍága* "pond."

[4] Another reading is *'Ibárat*. The meaning is obscure.

[5] See p. 175.

about the seats and order of precedence, so His Majesty ordered that the Amírs should sit on the east side, the Sayyids on the west, the Ulamá on the south, and the Shaikhs on the north. His Majesty would go from time to time to these various parties, and converse with them, and ascertain their thoughts. Quantities of perfume were used, and large sums of money were distributed as rewards of merit and ability among the worthy people who obtained an entry through the favour of the Emperor's courtiers. Many fine books which had belonged to 'Itimád Khán Gujrátí, and had been acquired in the conquest of Gujrát, were placed in the imperial library, but were subsequently brought out, and distributed by the Emperor among learned and pious men. Among the rest he gave me a book called *Anwár-ul-mashkút*, in amplification of one section of the *Mashkút-ul-anwár;* and, which was a very good thing, he gave to the Amírs by way of pay some things which they called *Irmás*,[1] *i. e.* "destruction of enemies." All at once one night the vein of the neck of the Ulamá of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me, "In future report any of the Ulamá who talk nonsense and cannot behave themselves, and I shall make him leave the hall." I said gently to Áçaf Khán, "If I carried out this order, most of the Ulamá would have to leave," when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him. He used to summon Makhdúm-ul-Mulk Mouláná 'Abd ulláh Sulṭánpúrí (P. 203) to that assembly, in order to annoy him; and would set up to argue against him Ḥájí Ibráhím, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, then a new arrival, but now the prime leader of the New Religion and Faith, or rather the infallible guide and expositor *de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis.* His Majesty used to interrupt the Mouláná at every statement, and at a hint from him his companions also would interfere with interjections and observations, and would tell queer stories about the Mouláná, and exemplified in his person the verse[2] of the Qur'án, "And some of you shall have life prolonged to

[1] See Blochm. p. 258, and 250. Surely in the latter place (*n.* 5) he is wrong in reading *ṭalab* with *izáfat.*

[2] xvi. 72.

a miserable age." Among other stories Khán Jalán said that he had heard that Makhdum-ul-Mulk had given a *fatwá*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwá*, he had said that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrát, were impracticable, because people in going by land[1] had to suffer injuries at the hands of the *Qizilbáshís*,[2] and in going by sea they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose passports had pictures of Mary and Jesus (peace be upon Him!) stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed. Another device of Makhdúm-ul-Mulk's was the trick by which he avoided payment of the legal alms due upon his wealth. Towards the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it back again.[3] It is said that he practised some other tricks of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed. Stories were told one after another about his meanness and shabbiness, and baseness and worldliness, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy and deserving men, especially those of the Panjáb, and which one by one came to light, verifying the saying: "There is a day when secrets shall be disclosed."[4] They told also other stories founded upon his villany, sordid disposition, and contemptible conduct, and they ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off *nolens volens* (P. 204) to Makkah. When he was asked if he thought that pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances he said "*No!*"[5] At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí was rising into power, while the star of the Mouláná was fast sinking. The Emperor on account of his great

[1] *I. e.*, by Persia.

[2] The Shi'ahs of Persia. So named from their *red caps*, see Fraser's novel *Kazul-básh*.

[3] Alms are due on every surplus stock or store which a Sunní possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession *for a whole year*. Blochm., 173, *note* 1.

[4] Al Qurán LXXXVI, 9.

[5] He meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him. Blochm., p. 173.

reverence and respect for the Shaikh used to go from time to time to his house to hear lectures on the Traditions[1] of the Prophet, and made the eldest Prince attend his school to learn the [collection of] 40 *aḥádís* by the renowned master Maulánáh 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Jámí (God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And one of his follies was this, that although he boasted of being learned in Tradition, and claimed to be a Ḥáfiz, and an Imám in this glorious science, yet he taught the Tradition "The prudent course *(ḥazam)* is to hold an evil opinion of others," with a dotted *khé*, and an undotted *ré (kharam)*, when every child knows that it is spelt with an undotted *ḥé*, and a dotted *z (ḥazam)*. Years passed in this way until, when the Emperor's heart became alienated from him, and troops of Mullás were being turned away, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah[2] reminded him of this fact: "His proficiency in the science of *ḥadís*, of which he boasted, reached such a pitch, and the result was that you raised him to such a rank, and now at this juncture counterfeit morals, as well as counterfeit principles have shown themselves in him. God preserve us from want after plenty!"

About this time His Majesty entrusted the work of translating the book *Ḥaiwat-ul-ḥaiwán* to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, a book which Naqíb Khán often used to read before the Emperor, and used to interest him in its subject-matter. And Shaikh Mubárik[3] translated it into Persian.

In this year His Majesty gave orders that the *Aimahs*[4] of the whole empire should not be let off by the *krorís*[5] of each *parganna*, unless they brought the *farmán* in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Çadr for inspection and verification. For this reason a large number of worthy people from the extreme east of India as far west as Bakkar [on the Indus] came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector (P. 205) in one of the Amírs, or near friends of His Majesty, he

[1] Called *ḥadís*, pl. *aḥádís*.

[2] He bore the title of *Khán-i 'Álam*.

[3] Father of Abu-l-Fazl

[4] Al-Badáoní uses the word *Aimah* in the sense of *Aimah-dárán*, 'holders of grant-lands.'

[5] Revenue officers, so called because each was put over a *kror* of *dáms*. Blochm., p. 13.

could manage to get his affair settled; but such as were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid 'Abd-ur-rasúl, the Shaikh's head-man, or make presents to his chamberlains, door-keepers, and sweepers, in order to get their blanket out of the mire. Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the *Aimahs*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the Emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, took his place upon his official seat, and influential Amírs introduced to him in his audience-hall scientific or pious men, the Shaikh used to receive them in his infamous manner, coming forward and paying respect to none. And after much asking, begging and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidáyah*[1] and other college books, 100 *Bígahs* more or less; and though such a man might have been a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaikh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindús, he granted lands for the first time. Thus learning and learned men fell from day to day into lower estimation. Even in the very audience-hall, when after midday prayers he sat down on his throne of pride, and washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt the water, which he had used, on the head and face and garments of the great Amírs, and courtiers of high degree who were near, and made no exception. And they with a view to helping the poor suppliants bore all this, and condescended to fawn on him, and flatter and toady him to his heart's content, in he hope of securing at last some compensation for the insult:—

> "When a rustic becomes a judge,[2]
> He wills such decrees, that they will kill him.'"

Never in the time of any Emperor had such absolute power been given (P. 206) into the hand of any Çadr.

[1] A book on Law. The word means "Guidance."
[2] Jack in office.

About this time the Emperor appointed me as an Imám, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the imperial horses with the brand. He gave me no very considerable travelling-expenses and ordered me from the first to act as *mançabdár* commanding twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl was treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shablí said with respect to Junaid,[1] (God bless their spirits!) "both baked in one kiln." Yet he, at once making a successful beginning, worked so strenuously at the *dágh-u-maḥallí* business, that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a *mançab* of two thousand, and the dignity of *Wazír*. While I, from my inexperience and simplicity, could not manage to continue in the service; and this piece of satirical poetry, which one of the Sayyids of Ánjú composed in reference to his own circumstances, came to my mind:—

"Thou hast made me a courtier and commander of twenty,
Let not my mother know of my nothingness."

I reflected that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a *madad-i-ma'ásh*, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world:—

"Seek not worldly pomp, let go transitory happiness,
The pomp of Religion is enough, and the happiness of Islám for thee;"

but this was not easy. In the month of Shawwál in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983), on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but the Emperor excused my inspections of the horses. Still through the unfriendly disposition of the Çadr, and the unpropitiousness of the times he only allotted to me a tenure to the amount of 1000 *bígahs* of land, which in that iron age appeared to be equivalent to the fief of a commander of twenty. It was styled also in the *farmán* a *madad-i-ma'ásh*. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be always in attendance on the Court, to which the Emperor replied that he would also give me subsidies and presents during the marches. And Shaikh 'Abd-un-

[1] Two of the principal saints of the Islám.

Nabí said that no (P. 207) person of my quality had received from him so large a grant of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of fate and have fallen like leaves to the ground. These fine promises were nothing better than a baseless mirage. I have performed services without rewards, and undergone useless restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the good-humour of destiny :—

"Either faithfulness, or news of union with thee, or the death
of the rival,
The playfulness of fate will do one of these three things."

'We are content with the decree of God, are patient under His trials, and thankful for His favours' :—

"In any case I must give thanks,
If I may never be in worse plight than now !"

And this *qiṭ'ah* of Fazúlí of Baghdád, who composed it in reference to Ḥairatí of Samarqand, when he was in the favour of Sháh Ṭahmásp, is expressive of the vain hopes of your humble servant :—

"I am from the dust of Arabia, and Ḥairatí from the kingdom
of Persia;
Both of us have sought our desire in uttering our words.
We have found from two benefactors the desire of our hearts,
He a glance from the king of Persia, I from the king of
Arabia."[1]

Since the world, and what is in it, is known to me, my hopes are fixed on the Creator, who helps his servants, that at the last all may be well, and that the seal of the matter may be in the felicity of Religion :—"What is with you will pass away, what is with God is eternal[2]" :—

"This is our hope from the mercy of our Creator,
That Thou wilt not make hopeless those who hope."[3]

[1] *I. e.* God.

[2] Al Qur'án xvi, 98.

[3] Comp. Ps. cxix, 49.

The first of the questions which the Emperor asked in these days was this: 'How many freeborn women may a man legally marry by *nikaḥ?*' The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet. The Emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age he had not restricted himself (P. 208) to that number, and in justice to his wives of whom he had a large number, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, then the Emperor remarked that Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí had once told him that one of the *Mujtahids*[1] had had as many as nine wives. Some of the Ulamá present replied that the *Mujtahid* alluded to was Ibn Abí Lailá, and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the verse of the Qur'án:[2] "Marry whatever women you like, two and two, and three and three, and four and four;[3]" but this interpretation is rejected. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí who replied that he had merely wished to point out to the Emperor that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwá*, in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. "The Shaikh," said he, "told me at that time a very different thing to what he tells me now." He never forgot this.

After much discussion on this point the Ulamá, having collected every Tradition on the subject, decreed, *first* that by *mut'ah* [not by *nikáḥ*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased: and *secondly*, that *mut'ah* marriages were allowed as legal by Imám Málik. The Shí'ahs, as was well-known, loved children born in *mut'ah* wedlock more than those born of *nikaḥ* wives, contrary to the Sunnís and Ahl-i-Jamá'at. On the latter point also the discussion became rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work

[1] See p. 203, *note* 1.

[2] IV. 3.

[3] 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 4 = 18. The Mujtahid who took nine, interpreted it 2 + 3 + 4 = 9. The usual interpretation is "two or three or four."

entitled *Naját-ur-rashíd*[1], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqíb Khán fetched a copy of the *Muwaṭṭá* of Imám Málik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imám had cited as a proof against the legality of *Mut'ah* marriages.

Another night Qází Ya'qúb, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, Ḥájí Ibráhím, and a few other Ulamá were invited to meet His Majesty at the house near the *Anúptaláo* tank. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the Emperor several traditions regarding *Mut'ah* marriages, which his father had collected, and the discussion commenced. At this juncture the Emperor sent for me also, and (P. 209) asked me what my opinion was on this subject. I said: "The conclusion to be drawn from so many contradictory Traditions and sectarian customs is in a word this :— Imám Málik and the Shíahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imám Sháfi'í and the great Imám[2] (the mercy of God be on them both !) look upon *Mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a Qází of the Málikí sect decide that a *Mut'ah* is legal, it is legal according to the common belief, even for Sháfi'ís and Ḥanafís. Every other opinion on the subject is idle talk." This pleased His Majesty very much. Qází Ya'qúb said something unintellegible. I reminded him that, when a matter is doubtful, it is generally in the power of the Qází to decide. "So what do you say about it ?" And in reference to this appeal of mine I brought forward the question of reading the *Fátiḥah* according to the martyred Imám, and I adduced many other confirmations, and as briefly as possible the story of the going of Shaikh Bihá-ud-dín Zakaryáí of Multán to Baghdád to visit the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shiháb-ud-dín Saharúrdí (God bless the spirits of them both !), and of that great man's beginning to read the *Fátiḥah* according to the Sháfi'í school, and of the suspicions of the ordinary Ulamá against them, and of the bringing forward of traditions which allowed it, and of the matter being eventually decided by the Qázís of Dihlí. So I maintained that it is allowable. Then Qází Ya'qúb helplessly

[1] A copy of this work is to be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc., Bengal. *Blochm.*, p. 104, note 2.

[2] *Ḥanífah.*

said after me : " What shall we say ? God be praised it is allowed." The Emperor then said, " I herewith appoint Qází Ḥusain 'Arab Málikí as Qází before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you Ya'qúb are from this day suspended." This was immediately obeyed, and Qází Ḥusain on the spot gave the decree which made *Mut'ah* marriages legal. The veteran lawyers such as Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, Qází Ya'qúb, and others, were the losers by this affair, and from this moment their power began to wane. The result was that a few days later Maulánáa Jalál-ud-dín of Multán, who was a profound (P. 210) and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was ordered from Ágrah[1], and appointed Qází of the realm. Qází Ya'qúb was sent to Gaur as district Qází. From this day forward the road of opposition and difference in opinion lay open, and remained so until His Majesty was appointed *Mujtahid* of the Empire : and so on, and on, and on, until he reached any degree of exaltation !

At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí and Mukhdúm-ul-Mulk were ordered to examine into the matter, and to decide the amount of tax to be levied on Hindús, and *farmáns* were issued in all directions; but this order quickly disappeared like a reflection on the water.

In these days His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Alláh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Ḥájí Ibráhím objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,[2] and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'án *Lazikrulláhi Akbaru*[3], because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme.

[1] To Fathpúr Síḳrí.

[2] 'God is great', or 'Akbar is God.'

[3] To commemorate God is the greatest thing.

In this year, before the decision about *Mut'ah* marriages, the Emperor appointed Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mír 'Adl*, for whom he entertained the highest respect, to go to Bakkar, and presented him with one of his own swords, and a horse, and a dress. Some time after arriving there he died (the mercy of God be upon him!). After his death a dress came into vogue, which to this day has never looked well on any one's figure, one would say that it was as *bizarre* as the age! Some people mentioned that Ḥájí Ibráhím of Sarhind had given a *fatwá*, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow cloths,[1] quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof (P. 211). On hearing this the *Mír 'Adl* in the imperial presence called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick to strike him, when the Ḥájí by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him.

During this year there arrived at Court Hakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, Hakím Humáyún (who subsequently changed his name to Humáyún Qulí, and lastly to Hakím Humán), and Núr-ud-dín, who as poet is known under the name of Qarárí. They were brothers, and came from Gílán, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of the Emperor.

Soon after there came from Persia Mullá Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the name of Yazídí, and attaching himself to the Emperor commenced openly to revile the *Çaḥabah*[2], told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make him a Shí'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bír Baṛ—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, who successfully turned the Emperor from the Islám, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company. Their eventual fates shall be told, each in its proper place, if God (He is exalted!) will.

[1] Such as women may use. *Blochm.*

[2] Companions of Mahomet.

At the same time His Majesty ordered Qází Jalál-ud-dín, and several Ulamá, to write a commentary on the Qur'án; but this led to great dissentions among them.

Deb Chand Rájah Manjholah—that fool!—once set the whole Court in laughter by saying that Alláh after all had great respect for cows,[1] else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Qur'án.[2]

His Majesty had also the early history of the Islám read out to him, and soon began to think less of the *Çaḥabah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers, and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as vain superstitions, and man's reason was acknowledged as the only basis of religion. Portuguese (P. 212) priests also came frequently; and His Majesty enquired into the articles of their belief, which are based upon reason:—

"Whatever imagination their intellect invents,
God laughs at the intellect of people of that creed."

And in this year the Emperor sent for Shaikh Badr-ud-dín to come to the *'Ibádat-khánah*. He was the son of Shaikh Islám Chishtí. He was much given to prayer, and having given up all attendance on princes, had become his father's successor, and had found favour with God, and become a recluse, and occupied himself only in fasting, zeal, repeating God's name, exercising poverty, and reading the Qur'án. Since the old customs of respect in sitting, rising, and speaking were no longer observed, he committed many breaches of etiquette, and other misfortunes coming in succession, after three or four years, without saying anything to any one, he left the Court in sheer disappointment and despair, and went to Ajmír, and thence to Gujrát, where he took ship alone to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. There he fasted, till he obtained spiritual union with

[1] He meant to imply that the Qur'án agrees with the Vedas in reverence for the cow.

[2] *Surat-ul-baqarah*, the "Sura of the heifer." It is really the 2nd Sura, but the 1st is only an introduction (*Fátiḥah*). Similarly Ps. ii is quoted as "the first Psalm." Acts, xiii, 33 (Codex D).

God, and in the hot air with naked feet performed the circuits, so that he attained the honour of reaching the heavenly Ka'bah, and enjoyed union with the Lord of Glory[1] (O God make me a partaker thereof !) :—

O Kamál thou art gone
From the Ka'bah to the Door of the Friend.
A thousand times *Áfrín*[2] !
Thou art gone like a man.

In this year a learned Bráhman, Shaikh B'háwan, had come from the Dak'hin and turned Musalmán, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *At'harban*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of the Islám. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh B'háwan could not interpret either, I reported the same to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizí, and then Ḥájí Ibráhím, to translate it. The latter, though willing, (P. 213) did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *At'harban* there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he reads a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *l*, and resembles very much our *Lá illáh illa' lláh*. Besides I found that a Hindú under certain circumstances may eat cow-flesh ; and also that Hindús *bury* their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Bráhmans in argument, and they had in fact led him to embrace the Islám (God be thanked for this !).

In the month Sha'bán[3] of this year Gulbadan Bégum, daughter of Bábar Pádsháh and paternal aunt to the Emperor, who had, in the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) in company with Salímah Sulṭán Bégum daughter of Núr-ud-dín Muḥammed Mirzá (who was formerly wife of Bairám Khán, *Khán Khánán*, and afterwards entered the Ḥaram of the Emperor), left Ágrah for Ḥijáz and tarried one year in Gujrát, and attained that felicity,[4] and thus per-

[1] *I. e.*, he died at Makkah.
[2] Bravo !
[3] The eighth month.
[4] That is, reached Mecca.

formed the four pilgrimages.[1] On her return, she remained another whole year at 'Aden through shipwreck, and arrived in Hindústán in the year nine hundred and ninety (990). And from that time it became an established practice, that every five or six years one of the nobles of the Court was made Leader of the pilgrims, and a general permission was given to the people, so that at great public expense, with gold and goods and rich presents, the Emperor sent them on a pilgrimage to Makkah. But this was afterwards abandoned.

In this year Mírzá Sulaimán, who from the time of the reign of Bábar had held absolute rule over Badakhshán—after that his promising son 'Ibráhím Mírzá had been slain in war with Pír Muḥammad Khán Uzbek in Balkh, and the decease[2] of Walí Ni'mat Bégum, and after that various acts of a perverse and rebellious nature had taken place on the part of Sháh Rukh Mírza, son of Ibráhím Mírzá, who had gone into rebellion with a view to usurping the whole government of Badakhshán—first of all came to Kábul hoping to obtain help from Mírzá (P. 214) Muḥammad Ḥakím.[3] When his hope failed to be realized, he requested that an escort might be given him to conduct him through the dangerous districts as far as the Indus. The Mírzá met his request with the greatest urbanity and politeness, and appointed him an escort, which deserted him at the first stage and returned to Kábul, and in accordance with:—

> "May it not be that thou remain long in this world!
> For old age is humiliation, and nonentity,"

taking his daughter with him in full confidence in God he travelled into Hind, alone and unattended. At several places the Afgháns opposed his progress by force of arms; but the Mírzá, showing the most intrepid bravery, and wounded with an arrow, after a hundred troubles arrived at the river Indus. Thence he sent two or three horsemen, men born in his house, with a petition to the Court. Then the Emperor sent 50,000 rupees and abundant other necessa-

[1] Kerbela, Kúm, Mash-had, and Mecca.

[2] For *fauj* read *faut*.

[3] Brother of Akbar, and Commandant of Kábul.

ries, and a team of horses of pure Arab breed by the hand of Aghá Khán the treasurer to give the Mírzá an honourable reception. And before this Rájah Bhagwán Dás, governor of Láhór, in accordance with a *farmán* had gone to the Indus to meet him, and was showing him day by day suitable hospitality. The Amírs and governors also of every *parganna* and town on the way, in accordance with the recognised laws of hospitality promoted his wish to go forward. In this manner they brought the Mírzá [to the Court].

Meanwhile A'zam Khán[1] (who is also called Khán-i A'zam) was sent for from Gujrát to appear at the Court, with which command he hastened to comply, and did homage at Fathpur on the 4th of Rajab[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983). One day he broached the subject of the new regulations about branding horses, and the management of tax-collecting, and of contracting for the army, and of the distressed condition of agriculturists and other acts of oppression. Everything that he knew about these things he mentioned with unqualified disapprobation. For some time the Emperor, from old habit, could not endure this unpleasant plain-speaking, and ordered (P. 215) that for some time he should be forbidden the royal presence, and appointed officers to prevent any of the nobles from visiting him. After some days he sent him to Ágrah, that, closing the door of egress and ingress in the face of mankind, he might practise the retirement of a monastic solitude in his own garden. Now Mírzá Sulaimán having arrived at Mattra[3] by continued journeys from Láhór, Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, and Qází Nizám Badakhshí (to whom the Mírzá had given the title of Qází-Khán, and who had obtained from the Court the title of Ghází-Khán) came from the great Amírs to meet him. And first of all the nobles, and magnates of the Court, and the pillars of the State, and afterwards the Emperor himself, with the assembled Amírs

[1] *Viz.*, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, son of Atgah Khán. His mother was Akbar's wetnurse, so that, however much Azíz might offend he was seldom punished. Akbar used to say, "Between me and Azíz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." Blochm., pp. 321, 325. He was appointed governor of Gujrát in 979.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] N W. of Ágrah.

went out five *cosses* to meet him. And on that day 5,000 elephants, some with housings of European velvet, and some with Turkish cloth of gold, and some with chains of gold and of silver, and with black and white fringes hung on their heads and necks, were drawn up in line on both sides: also Arabian and Persian horses with golden saddles of like splendour. And between each pair of elephants they placed a car of cheetahs with golden collars, and coverings of velvet and fine linen, and an oxen-car with fillets of embroidered gold. And the whole face of the wilderness, in this manner, became like a vision of Spring, and the desert and hill-country like the reflection of a tulip-bed. And when he saw the Emperor afar off, he alighted with ceremony from his horse, and ran forward to meet him with *saláms*. The Emperor with politeness quickly descended from his saddle to the ground, and would not permit him to pay any of the formal acts of politeness, and customary humiliations. After embracing him he remounted, and ordered that he should ride with him, and occupied himself in making the kindest enquiries after his welfare. In the palace [called] Anúptaláo[1] (the door, walls, and interior of which they had furnished with painted canopies, brocade, and splendid carpets, and golden (P. 216) vessels and all other kinds of furniture in abundance) he gave him a place by his side on the throne of Sultanate, and also summoned the Prince, his son, and introduced him to him. After they had finished their repast he granted his request for assistance, and promised him aid with such money and troops, as might enable him to reduce Badakhshán, and had apartments prepared for the Mírzá in the tower of the Hatyápúl,[2] where was the *Naqárah-khánah*[3]. Of an evening he used often to go to the *ibádat-khánah*, and hold converse with the Shaikhs and sages and cultivate ecstacy, and sometimes loud shouts were heard proceeding from him: and prayer with the congregation was never neglected by him. One day, after leading in all the other prayers, I considered that I had said sufficient prayers when the Mírzá objected to me that I had not recited the *Fátiḥah*.

[1] See p. 204.

[2] The 'Elephant Gate,' compare Blochmann's *Áín-í Akbarí*, 505.

[3] A sort of gallery, generally above the gate-way, where the kettle-drums are beaten at certain hours.

I said: "In the time of the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) the reciting of the Fátiḥah was not customary; and some of the traditions have pronounced it to be of questionable authority." He said: "Do you mean to say then that those who read it are not in the region of knowledge, nor wise men?" I replied: "We have to do with the Written Law, not with [possible] forgeries." The Emperor after this commanded that I should recite it. I complied, although I showed him the tradition which pronounced it as questionable.[1]

At this time [the Emperor] revived an old Chaghatáí custom. For some days, in order to exhibit it to Mírzá Sulaimán, they spread royal tables in the Audience-hall. And the officers of high grade[2] gathered the soldiers together, and took to themselves the trouble of arranging the customary food. But when the Mírzá departed, all these [revived customs] departed too.

Khán Jahán, commandant of the Panjáb, was ordered to take with him 5,000 warlike mounted archers, and putting himself at the service of the Mírzá to go to Badakhshán, and deliver the country from Mírzá Sháh-Rúkh and hand it over to Mírzá Sulaimán. But as a matter of fact the aspect of affairs took a somewhat different complexion.

Meanwhile news came that Mun'im Khán, *Khán Khánán*, after making peace with Dáúd in the midst of the rainy-season, under the guidance of Fate, passed over the Ganges from Tándah (the climate of which is temperate), and made the inhabitants (P. 217) migrate to Gaur, and ordered that that town (which was formerly the Capital of Bengál, and the climate of which is debilitating and foul) should be inhabited: and all that the Amírs could say against it availed nothing:—

> "O wonder! that ye had no misgivings of heart, no sadness of soul,
> On account of this foul air, these noxious waters."

Various diseases, the names of which it would be difficult to know, attacked their constitutions; and every day hosts upon hosts of

[1] See above p. 212.

[2] *Tawáchí* see p. 74, *note* 5.

people, having played out their existence, bade farewell to one another; and how many thousands soever were told off for that country, it cannot be stated that a hundred ever returned to their homes:—

"What a fatal thing, O God, may a place become!"

Things came to such a pass that the living were unable to bury the dead, and threw them head-foremost into the river. Every hour, and every minute, news came to the ear of the Khán Khánán of the death of Amírs, and yet, for all that, he did not himself become infected. And, on account of the arrogance of his disposition, no one had the power to remove the cotton-wool of ignorance from his ears, and make him leave the place:—

"If I give advice to my heart in love, it is taken ill.
I will leave it in her street to hit its head against the wall."

After a time the constitution of the Khán Khánán, Mun'im Khán, began to deviate from its usual course of equilibrium, and, at over eighty years of age, after completing the first ten days of the month Rajab[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) he rendered his account to the Guardian of Paradise, or to the Guardian of Hell (God knows!); and all that rank and glory, and that grandeur and perfection became a mere dream and fantasy:—

"Since thou canst not place any confidence in thy life,
What matters it whether it be one, or one hundred years?
(P. 218) Since there is no perpetuity in life,
What matters power,[2] or servitude?"

Since he had no heirs, the officials seized all that wealth and gains (which had taken so many years to accumulate) for the imperial treasury, 'Announce to the wealth of a miser reverse of fortune, or an heir:—

"How well has a clever speaker said,
Gold attracts gold, and treasure treasure!"

[1] The seventh month.

[2] Instead of *Bamán* and *Fámál* we must read *Farmán* and *Pámál*.

Then, in accordance with the well-known saying—'In a place without trees a *Palma Christí*[1] is [looked on as] a shady and fruitful tree' the Amírs, on this principle, looked to Sháham Khán Jaláír as their leader:—

"The death of the great has made me great."

But, when the news reached the Court, the Emperor appointed the Khán Zamán, in the room of the Khán Khánán, to the Command in Bengál, and presented him with a gold-embroidered cloak, and vest of gold, and jewelled sword-belt, and a horse with a guilded saddle. Then whether at his own request, or for the peace of the kingdom, it was settled that Mírzá Sulaimán should go by sea on a pilgrimage to Ḥijáz: and having signed a draught for him of 50,000 rupees upon the imperial treasury, and given him another sum of 20 rupees from the local treasury of Gujrát, the Emperor gave him leave to depart. And Qulíj Khán he appointed as his escort, to see him off safely from the port of Súrat. During this same year he reached Makkah and Al Madínah, and by the help of God's grace and faithfulness he returned by way of 'Iráq, and was, as was right, reinstated in the sovereignty of Badakhshán:—

"Thou hast never seen that road, therefore they never showed it thee,
Else, who has ever knocked at that door, and they opened not to him."

On his return he gave one of his daughters to Muzaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, commandant of Qandahár, who at that time had come to Láhór, and had attached himself to the Court; and another daughter he gave to another man.

In this year the late[2] Ḥusain Khán (for whom, of all men of superior understanding, the Author had an old and strong attachment, and the most perfectly sincere friendly relations) through infirmity caused by the appearance (P. 219) of that stage and mark, which is the destroyer of pleasures, and the vanquisher of the warrior, after the buffeting of all those troubles, which had passed over him, through apparent madness, but real wisdom, left Kánt-u-Golah with

[1] The *Qíqáyón* of Jonah iv. 6. For a like prov. see Talm. Babl. *Synh.* 44*a*.

[2] He was dead, when our author wrote.

a band of his friends and intimates (who, whether in the flood of fire, or in the billows of the sea, had never in any wise deserted him), and, passing through the confines of Badáún and Sambhal, and crossing the river Ganges, arrived in the Dúáb. Then, after plundering, the *mawásán*[1] and disaffected of that neighbourhood (who, deeming the payment of rent unnecessary, never used to return any answer to their feudal lord, so that you may guess what happened to the helpless, duped, non-plussed, dishonoured tax-collectors) took a moon-light flit to the base of the northern mountains. This was a place he had all his life a hankering after, and kept it, as a mine of silver and gold in full view: continually concocting in the crucible of his guileless breast (which was large enough to contain a world) visions of golden and silver idol-temples[2] and bricks of gold and silver. Then, without having received any orders authorizing him to do so, he turned to Basant-púr (an elevated and well-known place in the hill-district), and invested the place. Malik-ush-Sharaq, the tax-collector of T'hánésar[3] shut the door of the fort: and the other tax-collectors in like manner, in a fright, having run into their holes, spread a false report that he was in rebellion, and sent a petition to that effect to the Court. The Emperor enquired of Sa'íd Khán Moghúl (who was a connection and very old friend of Ḥusain Khán, and who had just come from Multán) whether this report was true; this he firmly denied. But when the Emperor asked him to give, on the part of Ḥusain Khán, a bond in writing for the cattle and goods which Ḥusain Khán had carried off from the agriculturists he utterly declined to do so, and all that former love and friendship changed into an affectation of being utterly unacquainted with him:—

"These deceitful friends, whom you see,
Are but flies about a sweetmeat.
Before you they are truer to you than the light,
Behind your back they are more evanescent than a shadow."

[1] Are these the same as the "*máwís*" Blochm., p. 252, or ought we to read *Mu'áçiyán* rebels?

[2] The Emperor Maḥmúd had acquired immense wealth from the plunder of Hindú temples. He hoped to do the same.

[3] See p. 94, *note* 4.

(P. 220) At last he sent Sayyid Háshim, son of Muḥammad Bárha, and the sons of Mír Sayyid Muḥammad, the Judge of Amráhah (before he dismissed him to Bakkar), with a body of the Amírs to operate against[1] him. While he was fighting in the hill-district of Basant-púr he received a severe musket-wound under the shoulder-blade, besides losing a host of his veterans. Accordingly, without having accomplished anything, he turned back, and getting into a boat he went on the river Ganges towards Patyálí (which was the native place of his kith and kin). He got as far as Gaḍha Maktésar where they came on him, disabled by his wound, and, in accordance with their orders, brought him to Ágrah, and deposited him in the house of Çádiq Muḥammad Khán (between whom and Ḥusain Khán there had existed from the beginning of the conquest of India, or rather from Qandahár—times onward, the kindliest feeling, and most sincere friendship) Shaikh Bínáí, the physician, being sent for by the Emperor's command, came to try and heal him. But on his representing that the wound was of a frightful character the Emperor sent for Ḥakím 'Ayn-ul-mulk. And the Author, having received the Emperor's permission, went with the physician to see him, in order to keep up my old relations with him. I found him, and while a moment, by reason of my sorrow, seemed to me like days, I composed these words of friendship, sorrowful and mingled with tears:—

"Wherever I and the loved-one met together,
For fear of the malevolent we bit our lips.
Without the intervention of ear or lip, by means of heart and eye,
Many a word was there, that we said and heard."

Meanwhile the imperial surgeons came to operate on him. They thrust a probe into the wound to the depth of a span, and probed it mercilessly. But that man of fortitude swallowed the agony, like a sweet draught, and neither frowned (P. 221), nor shewed any sign of pain, but smiled without dissimulation:—

"My face is calm in spite of the bitter words of men,
Poison is in my mouth, but my face is wreathed in smiles."

[1] For *bar pisari o* ought we to read *bar sari o*?

And that was my last sight of him until the Judgment-day, and my very last farewell of him. I heard two or three days after I arrived at Fatḥ-púr, that his sickness had turned to a flux. He was so refined in the crucible of abstinence, that what remained of impurity in him, by reason of human nature and the infirmity of the flesh, entirely left him, and the alloy of his nature becoming pure gold, he became purified by fire, for 'Trial is to the Saints what the flame is to gold':—

"All carnal attributes have departed from Mas'ud Beg,
That of him which was Soul is become that very Soul again."

And—that he might attain the full felicity of a true and regular martyrdom, in accordance with the authentic tradition: 'He that is afflicted with the colic is a martyr,' in that distress of expatriation, and grief of exile, and trouble of penury, together with the accident of a wound from Infidels received in a hostile country, and the distraction of relaxed liver, he removed his baggage from this transitory existence to the eternal Paradise: and the Bird of his Soul escaping from the Cage of this World, that prison of the Believer, at the invitation: "Return thou, O soul, unto thy Lord, well pleased and wellpleasing,[1]" flew towards the Rose-bed, to dwell there in "rest, and in gracious favour, and a garden of delights:[2]"

"None ever came into the world, who remained there,
Except he, of whom a good name remained."

Although he gave away whole worlds of gold to the deserving and the needy, yet when he took his departure to the other world [he was so poor, that] his excellence of regal qualities, exalted in degrees, and holy in his attributes, Khwájah Muḥammad Yaḥyá Naqshbandí (the Spirit of God is his Spirit!) brought the expenses of his burial, and with all honour[3] and respect deposited him in peace in the strangers' burial-place at Ágrah:—

[1] Al Qur'án, LXXXIX, 28.

[2] Al Qur'án, LVI, 88.

[3] The word in the text *ba-i'jáz* means 'in amazement.' But the editors have put a (?) to it, and it should, doubtless, be read *ba-i'záz* 'in honour,' as the following word *iḥtirám* clearly points out.

"How can I see him sleeping in the dust,
(P. 222) Him, who has raised me from the dust!"

Thence he was carried to the cemetery of Patyálí, which became his burial-place, and they made him like a buried treasure: and *Ganj-bakhsh*[1] 'Bestower of treasure' was found to give the date. And when, on my following the Mír 'Adal[2] (who is now departed himself to the mercy of God) on his journey to Bakkar, I told him of the decease of this man, so rich of heart but poor in purse, he burst into tears, and began to extol his purity and ability, and said: "If any one wish to practice walking unspotted from the world, he ought to act and walk, just as Ḥusain Khán acted and walked:"—

"I am the slave of that man, who, under the blue sky,
Is free from whatever partakes of the tinge of dependance."

It so happened that this interview also, with the Mír, became memorable to the author: and from the expression made use of by that great man on that occasion, *viz.*, "All my friends are departed and I know not whether I shall ever see you again," you would have said that his star was sinking; and so it in fact was:—

"As long as in this flock there remains a single sheep,
Fate will not desist[3] from the butcher-trade."

Let it not be forgotten that the author enjoyed the society of that unique one[4] of the age for the space of about nine years, and [but] one piece of opposition (though to use so strong a term in connection with him were a shame, and a dire injustice) did I meet with from him, and that was in military matters, and the affairs of this world. And among the many venerable persons and spiritual directors of the age, who still remain, I do not find a tithe of a tenth part of that I found in him, [who was] in the *Sunní* section [of Islám] pure in faith, and in purity of conduct perfectly sincere

[1] There seems to be some mistake, as this only gives 975.
[2] His name was Sayyid Muḥammad, see p. 224 and Text, p. 220, l. 1.
[3] Read *nishínad*.
[4] Ḥusain Khán.

and upright, in spirit without an equal, in valour peerless, in courtesy alike in his beheavour both to small and great, and in disinterestedness without an equal in the age, in detachment from worldly objects stainless, in active service untiring, in dependence on God without compare, in asceticism worthy of a hundred praises; but if he had lived in these days he would hardly have been able to have attained such a character for orthodox and sincere religion.[1] (P. 223.) At the time that he was absolute governor of Láhor (I have it from trustworthy people), his food consisted of barley-bread, his object being to follow the example of the Seal of the Prophets and best of Apostles[2] (the blessings of God be on him, and on them all!): and ever so many thousands of mosques and ancient sepulchres he repaired, restored, or rebuilt. One day it happened that a Hindú in the dress of a Muslim came into his assembly, and he with his usual genuine humility, taking him for a Muslim, stood up to greet that Hindú. When he found out the true state of the case, he felt ashamed and ordererd that from that day forward all Hindús should sew a patch of stuff of a different colour on their garments near the bottom of the sleeve, that there might be a mark to distinguish between Muslims and Káfirs.[3] For this reason he was commonly known among the people by the title of *Tukriya*, for they call a patch *tukrá*,[4] which is another name for the Arabic word *Ghiyár*[5] (with *kasra* under the dotted '*ain*, and *ye* with two dots below,[6]

[1] This is not said in disparagement of Ḥusain Khán, but in disgust at the innovations which Akbar introduced later on.

[2] *I e.*, Muḥammad.

[3] Unbelievers, *i. e.*, non-Muslims. This is the origin of the name Kaffir, which was applied by the Muslims of Africa to the other inhabitants.

[4] Sanscrit *stoka* 'a piece,' whence the Hindí *tukrá* (with cerebral *t*) 'a patch.'

[5] A distinguishing badge, that which make a person *ghair* (different) from others.

[6] Since Semitic languages are generally written without vowel-points, and sometimes even without the diacritic points, which, in the Arabic (Persian, Ottoman-Turkish &c.) characters, distinguish between some of the consonants, *e. g.*, between *n* and *y* &c., when a writer wishes to define the pronunciation of a word he has to spell it out in the most elaborate manner. The Persian character is the Arabic adapted to the exigencies of the language, and it is usually written without vowel-points.

so that it is of the form of the word *diyár*[1]). On another occasion he ordered that the Káfirs, in accordance with the requirements of the Holy Law, should not ride on saddles, but should sit on a pack-saddle. When on a journey, out of deference to the Sayyids, and men of learning and excellence (who used to attend him, and to greet whom he, when seated, used always to rise), he would never use a four-post bedstead: nor would he voluntarily omit saying the Prayers in the night any more than the Friday prayers in the mosque. And, although he had a *jágír* worth *lacs* and *krors*, he never had more than one horse with him, and even that he would sometimes give away to meet some expense, or for some worthy object, and so whether on a journey or at home would be content to go afoot, until one of his friends, or of his servants, brought him another. And a poet in a *qaçídah* said:—

"The Khán is bankrupt, and the slave is wealthy."

He had taken an oath that he would never amass treasure, and whenever gold was brought before him he would say: "You would say that it is an arrow or a javelin that pierces my side" (P. 224), and he was never at ease until he had given it away. And sometimes it would be observed that, when the Government had assigned some fifteen to thirty or forty thousand rupees on the *pargana*,[2] he, regardless of this, would sign orders for the soldiers and for other expenses also, so that both[3] would get an equal share. He also had a vow that every slave who came into his possession should have the first day to himself. He never had anything to do with any women except his three legally married wives. He looked on nuts as a sort of intoxicating food, and as therefore forbidden by the religion. One day the Shaikh-ul-hidyah of Khairábád (who was one of the leading Shaikhs on the high way of direction and guidance of posterity) being exercised at the Khán's voluntary poverty, and expenditure, and squandering of property, and unnecessary presents, and extreme extravagance in the distribution of pensions and grants,[4]

[1] A tract of country.

[2] *Viz.*, to keep up the required number of soldiers.

[3] Military and non-Military expenses.

[4] Instead of *:itifáq* read *auqáf*. Compare p. 22, *note* 4.

endeavoured to urge him to a change in those habits. But this advice was not in harmony with his disposition, so becoming angry he said: "It is simply a question between obeying your order in the matter, and following the tradition of the Prophet; what choice can there be? On the other hand we expect from such as you religious guides, that, if there be any root of avarice or desire for the things of this world in us, you should show us the way by which we may eradicate and cut off such a matter; and not that you should be the ones to lend a false glitter to the accessories of transient trifles, and should make us avaricious, so as to sink among the lowest of the low in the unworthy pursuit of greed and avarice:—

"Wealth never remains in the hand of the free,
Nor patience in the heart of a lover, nor water in a sieve."

Although the author was never with him on any serious battle-fields, still I was his companion in many jungle-warfares, and comfortless journeys. And I observed in him a resolution and a courage, such as perhaps those renowned heroes, who have left their names emblazoned on the pages of history, may have possessed; and not to mention his immense physical strength (P. 225) and prowess—they might have boasted of the same courage as that lion-like warrior. And in the day of battle the *Fátiḥah*[1] which he read was to this effect: "Either martyrdom or victory.[2]" And whenever people told him that he ought to put victory before martyrdom, he used to say: "My desire is rather to see the glorious departed, than the lords who remain alive." And such was his liberality, that if by any possible supposition the treasures of the world and the Sultanate of the whole face of the earth could have become accessible to him, and have been delivered over to him, the very first day he would have become a bankrupt. And this *qit'ah* became true in his day:—

[1] The first Surah of the Qur'án. The expression 'reading the *Fátiḥah*' is used figuratively of entering upon an undertaking. Compare the expression 'reading the verse of flight' on p. 48, *note* 1.

[2] *Fatḥ*.

"He did right in not making both worlds[1] manifest,
The peerless Lord, dispenser of justice, without equal or compare:
Else in a moment of liberality he would have given away both,
And the Creature would have nothing left to hope for from the High God."

And sometimes it would so happen that he would purchase forty or fifty horses, Arabs, and of mixed breed, and Turkish, at the price at which the dealer first offered them, and would say "You and God know that:—

'A true merchant never demands too much.'"

And afterwards at some social gathering would give them all away to his friends, and then apologize for so doing. The very first time that the writer became acquainted with him, at the time when the army of Garha-Katangah was being got ready at Ágrah, he presented me with an Arab horse, which he had bought for 500 rupees, and in accordance with:—

"The king of Hormúz never saw me, and without a word from me
He conferred on me a hundred favours;
The king of Yazd saw me, and I lauded him,
But he did not give me anything."

What can one do?

"Speak of a person, as you find him."

(P. 226). When he removed his baggage from this transitory world, he was in debt to the amount of a *lac* and a half of rupees, and more; but, on account of the numerous good offices which he had during his lifetime performed for his creditors, they of their own free will and pleasure tore up his bonds, and went away perfectly satisfied, with prayers for the pardon, acceptance, peace, and eternal happiness of his soul upon their lips. And they did not on account of his liabilities bring any lawsuit or litigation against his children (such as is the usual bequest of deceased debtors):—

[1] The editors' (?) to the last word of the first line is unnecessary. They seem to have overlooked the fact, that the lines are distinctly called a *Qit'ah*, and that therefore only the second and fourth lines need rhyme.

"There are Muḥammads and Muḥammads:
The live one killed me, and the dead one revived me.[1]"

In a word how can I, when there is such uninimity of opinion on the subject, find the ability to eulogize such numerous virtues as his. But since I spent in his service the best of this life, which is the flower of youth, and not the mere dregs of life, which is the time of the worthlessness of old age and bewilderment, and since through his kind patronage I have got on so exceedingly well, and am become one of the renowned of the age, and a man of mark in the world, and have obtained the blessing (in so far as it is possible) of contributing to the comfort of the servants of the Lord of earth and heaven, therefore, in gratitude to God for his many favours and goodnesses towards me, have I composed this memorial section, in commemoration of some of his good qualities, though it be but one of a thousand, but a few out of many:—

"It is not that I confer any honour on Muḥammad by mentioning him,
But rather my words that are honoured by mentioning Muhammad."

And trusting in the truth of the saying 'To commemorate the righteous brings down mercy from God,' I hope on account of this commemoration of his virtues to become a recipient of the all-embracing mercy of God:—

Repeat to us the mention of Na'mán,[2] verily the mention of him
Is like musk, which diffuses its odour as often as thou agitatest it.

So that it may come to pass in accordance with that old time which I spent with him, that my resurrection may also be with him; as has been intended, and involved in futurity: "And this is not difficult with God.[3]"

And in this year the Emperor, on account of the beauty of my voice, which was comparable with the sweet voice, and ravishing tones

[1] The application seems to be this: that, while he was alive his extravagance rendered his children liable to fall into poverty, but that after he was dead the kind actions, he had performed during life, freed them again.

[2] King of Hírah in 'Iráq.

[3] Al Qur'án, XIV, 23.

(P. 227) of a parrot, made me the Reader of the Prayers on Wednesday evenings, and entered me among the seven Imáms.[1] And the duty of summoning the congregation on that day and night he committed to Khwájah Doulat Názir Ghaif Shadíd (a eunuch, neither man, nor woman,) and appointed him a stipend on the condition that he should be present at the five hours of prayer.[2]

At this time Khwájah Amín-ud-dín Muḥammad (known as Khwájah Amíná) passed from the world, and the abundant wealth which he left behand came into the royal treasury.

On the 17th of the month Zí-Qadah[3] of this year, the Emperor's journey to Ajmír took place, and at one of the stages he, according to his usual custom on such occasions, went on foot on a pilgrimage to the Sacred Sepulchre. On the 9th of this month the Sun entered Aries:—

> "The Workman, the Sun, when he begins anew his work,
> His entrance into Aries makes glorious the rising Morn."

This was the commencement of the twenty-second year from the accession. At this time news arrived, that after the death of Mun'im Khán, *Khán Khánán*, the Amírs being unable any longer to withstand the attacks of Dáúd, had retired on Ḥájípúr and Patnah from Gaur and Tánḍah, and that Khán Jahán, because his army was still at Láhor, was advancing but slowly. Accordingly the Emperor wrote a *farmán*, and entrusted it to Turk Subhán Qulí to bear to Khán Jahán, ordering him to hasten up as quickly as possible. And Subhán Qulí performed his mission, covering a distance of nearly a thousand *cosses* in twenty-two days. At the same time news came to Ágrah, that Khán Jahán, on arriving at Garhi, had fought an obstinate battle with the Afgháns of Dáúd, and had defeated them, and was still advancing.

During the first part of the blessed month Muḥarram[4] of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) the Emperor

[1] The Emperor had seven Imáms, or private Chaplains, one for each day of the week.

[2] The five hours of prayer are: Before dawn, midday, afternoon, after sunset, bedtime.

[3] The eleventh month.

[4] The first month.

introduced Mán Singh, son of Bhagvan Dás, into the burial place of the saint Mu'ín (may its occupants attain a happy resurrection!) and treating him with kindness, and showing him the greatest favour, presented him with a robe of honour, and a horse with (P. 228) all its appointments, and ordered him to proceed to the hostile district of Kokanda and Kombalmír,[1] which was a dependancy belonging to Ráná Kíká. And 5,000 regular troopers, partly from his own body-guard, and partly belonging to the Amírs who were in command,[2] he appointed and dispatched as his force. And he sent with him Áçaf Khán *Mir-bakhshí*,[3] and Ghází Khán Badakhshí, and Sháh Ghází Khán Tabrízí, and Mujáhid Khán, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khán, and Sayyid Háshim Bárha, and Mihtar Khán a servant of the Family, and other Amírs. And when the author, in the train of Qází Khán and Áçaf Khán, arrived at about three *cosses* from Ajmír, and ardour for fighting against the infidels kindled in my breast, I represented the state of the case to the High Çadr, Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí, *Shaikh-ul-Islám*, and made interest with him to obtain leave of absence from the Emperor. Although he granted my request he left the presentation of the petition to his Wakíl, Sayyid 'Abd-ur-Rasúl, a meddlesome sort of a fellow. And, when I found that the matter hung fire far too long, I sought the intervention of Naqíb Khán (with whom I was on brotherly terms). At first he made objections, and said: "If a Hindú had not been the leader of this army, I should myself have been the first to have asked permission to join it." But I represented strongly to the said Khán, that I looked on any true servant of the Emperer as a fit leader for myself, and what did it matter, whether it were Mán Singh, or another? And that the purity of intention was what one should look to. Then Naqíb Khán took the opportunity, when the Emperor was going in high state to visit the shrine of that Diffuser of Light,[4] to present my petition. At first the Emperor said: "Why he has just been appointed one of the Court-Imáms, how can he go?" Naqíb

[1] Near Udaipúr in Rajpútána.

[2] We propose to read *Náibán*, instead of *Nábínám* 'sightless.'

[3] Paymaster of the Court. Áín-í Akbarí, Blochm. p. vi. He had been appointed *vice* Qází 'Alí. *Ibid.* p 411.

[4] Shaikh Mu'ín ud-dín Chishtí.

Khán represented that I had a very strong desire to take part in a holy war. So the Emperor sent for me, and asked me: "Are you in earnest?" I answered: "Yes." Then he said, "For what (P. 229) reason?" I humbly replied: "I have the presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person:—

Thine is a perilous service, but I wish to undertake it,
That I may gain renown, or death,[1] for thy sake."
He replied, "If God (He is exalted) will, thou
Shalt return the bearer of news of victory."

And when I put out my hand towards the couch in order to kiss his foot, he withdrew it; but, just as I was going out of the audience chamber, he called me back, and filling both his hands he presented me with a sum of 56 ashrafí[2], and bid me farewell. And when I went to take leave of Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí, who reached the very acme of kindness in removing all my former obstacles, he said: "Be sure that at the moment of the meeting of the two armies in battle, which according to a sure tradition of the Prophet (may the best of blessings and peace he upon him!) is the most favourable time and place for the acceptance of prayer, be sure, said he, that you remember me for good in your prayer: do not forget." I consented; and, having prayed the *Fáṭḥah*, joined that army with horse and arms in company with a number of friends of one mind with myself in the matter:—

'Every day on the march, and each night a new halting-place.'

And this journey from beginning to end turned out most successful and prosperous, till eventually I came back to Fatḥpúr with news of

[1] *Lit.* That I may make my face red (with the glow of success), or my neck red (with the gore of death). This play on the words reminds one forcibly of a similar one in Gen. xl. 20—23 "And *he lifted up the head* of the chief butler, and of the chief baker among his servants, and he restored the chief butler unto his butlership, ... and he hanged the chief baker."

[2] About £ 86 stirling.

victory, and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute[1]) from Ráná Kíká.

On the twentieth of Muḥarram[2] in this year having arranged the affairs of the army of Kokandah, the Emperor started on his way back to the Seat of Felicity Fatḥpúr, and on the first of the month of Çafr[3] he reached his usual dwelling-place. At this time messengers brought word that after the Khán Jahán had left Garhí,[4] Dáúd had advanced from Tándah to a place called Ág-Maḥall, on one side of which is the river Ganges, and on the other side it joins the mountains. And that there he had taken up his position, and strengthened it with a trench, and fort, and was every day making sallies thence. And that Khwájah 'Abd-ulláh, (P. 230) grandson of Khwájah Aḥrár (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) had fallen after making repeated and vigorous attacks on the trench. And that on the other side Khán Khánán (?) the leader of the Afgháns had been slain. Upon this the Emperor wrote a *farmán* to Zafr Khán, commandant of Patnah and Bihár, ordering him to collect all the forces of that district and to proceed to the assistance of Khán Jahán.[5]

In the month Rabí'ul-awwal[6] of this year Mírzá Muḥammad Sharíf, son of Mír 'Abd-ul-Latíf Qazwíní, who was a young man of the very greatest ability, and sharpness of intellect, and possessed of a sweet disposition, and a sweet voice, and endowed with all sorts of perfections, while playing at Chogán[7] with the Emperor in the open space of Fatḥpúr, fell from his horse, and immediately gave up his soul of the Beloved.[8] And a great cry arose in the city and neighbourhood, and this report[9] spread on all sides. The Emperor was

[1] It appears that he had refused to send to Court an elephant (as a sign of submission). See p. 241.

[2] The first month.

[3] The second month.

[4] See p. 232.

[5] Ḥusain Qulí Khán.

[6] The third month.

[7] Polo.

[8] There is a play on the words *ján* 'soul,' and *Jánán* 'Beloved,' *i. e.* The Creator.

[9] It would appear from what follows, that the report was to the effect that it was the Emperor who was killed.

an eye-witness of this accident, and did not know what to do. Meanwhile Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Atgah seized the rein of his Majesty's horse, and said: "My Lord, what are you doing here? go away." And so he turned his rein towards the palace. Then he sent *farmáns* with assurances of the soundness of his health and strength to the Amírs of the frontiers, so that the panic was stayed. Of the number of these *farmáns* one arrived at Kokandah, addressed to Mán Singh, and Áçaf Khán, with the contents aforesaid. And so that grief of ours was changed into rejoicing.

During the first part of the month Rabi'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) took place the victory of Kokandah. And the following is a succinct account of it. When Mán Singh and Áçaf Khán with the army of Ajmír, on their way to Mandalgaṛh, arrived by forced marches at the town of Darah, seven *cosses* from Kokandah, the Ráná came out to oppose them. Then Mán Singh mounted an elephant, and with a number of the imperial horsemen, such as Khwájah Muḥammad Rafí Badakhshí, and Shiháb-ud-dín Guroh-páyandah Quzáq, and 'Alí Murád (P. 231) Uzbek, and Rájah Loun Karan, commandant of Sámbhar, and other Rájpúts in the centre, and a body of renowned youths took his place in the advance-body. And some eighty or more picked men of these were sent, with Sayyid Háshim Bárha,[1] as skirmishers in front of the advance-body (and such are called the 'chickens of the front line).' And Sayyid Aḥmad Khán Bárha with a body of others[2] had the right-wing, and Qází Khán with a body of sons of Shaikhs of Síkrí, relatives of Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí, had the left-wing. And Mihtar Khán was in the rear. And Ráná Kíká advancing from behind Darah with a force of 3,000 horse, divided his men into two divisions. One division, of which Ḥakím Sár Afghán was the leader, came straight from the direction of the mountains, and attacked our advance-body. And on account of the broken and uneven state of the ground, and the quantity of thorns, and the serpentine twistings of the road, the skirmishers and the advance-body of our troops

[1] Compare Text, p. 220, l. 1. This, of course, means 'of Bárha.' For the use of names of places in this manner compare my *Memor book of Neurnberg*, p. 21, under *Heubach*.

[2] "Others" means "other Sayyids."

became hopelessly mixed up together, and sustained a complete defeat. And the Rájpúts of our army, the leader of whom was Rájah Loun Karan, and who were most of them on the left, ran away like a flock of sheep, and breaking through the ranks of the advance-body fled for protection to our right wing. At this juncture the author, who was with some of the special troops of the advance-body said to Áçaf, "How are we now in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rájpúts?" He answered "They will experience the whiz[1] of the arrows, be what may:—"

'On whichever side there may be killed, it will be a gain to Islám.'

So we kept firing away, and our aim[2] at such a mountain-like mass of men never missed. And there was even a surer proof [of the righteousness of my conduct in so doing, for]—

'The heart is the most faithful witness that can testify[3]:'—

[And]

'The proof of the true Lover is in his sleeve:'

and it became certain that my hand prospered in the matter, and that I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels.

And the Sayyids of Bárha,[4] and some youths of renown, performed in this battle (P. 232) such exploits as would have become Rastam;[5] and many slain on both sides strewed the plain. The other division of Ráná Kíká's army, under the Ráná in person, charged out of the pass, and meeting Qází Khán, who was at the entrance of the pass, swept his men before them, and bearing them along broke through his centre. Then the Shaikh-sons from Síkrí all fled at once. And an arrow struck Shaikh Mançur, (son-in-law of Shaikh Ibráhím) who was leader of this company, in the seat of honour as he was in the act of flight, and he bore the wound for a considerable time. But Qází Khán, although he was but a Mulla, stood his ground manfully, until receiving a cimetar blow on his right hand, which wounded his

[1] *Shayah* is apparently a misprint for *Shíbah-e*, *Shíb-i Shib-i*, or *Shapah-e*, all of which words are onomatopæa for the 'whiz' of an arrow.

[2] *Shiçt* = *Shist*.

[3] Comp. 1 John iii. 21.

[4] Perhaps both the skirmishers under S. Háshim Bárha, and those of the right-wing under S. Aḥ. Kh. Bárha.

[5] The famous hero in the *Sháhnámah*.

thumb, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited [the saying] 'Flight from overwheling odds is one of the traditions of the prophet,' and followed his men [in their retreat]. Those of the army who had fled on the first attack, did not draw rein till they had passed five or six *cosses* beyond the river. In the midst of all this confusion Mihtar Khán hastening up from the rear with his reserves, and beating his kettle-drums, called on the imperial troops to rally. And this shout of his was to a great extent the cause of the fugitives taking heart again, and making a stand. And Rájah Rámsháh of Gwályár (grandson of the famous Rájah Mán), who always kept in front of the Ráná, performed such prodigies of valour against the Rájpúts of Mán Singh, as baffle description. And these [Rájpúts of Mán Singh] were those who, on the left of the advance-body, fled, and thereby caused also the flight of Áçaf Khan,[1] and then took refuge with the Sayyids who were on the right; and, if the Sayyids had not held their ground firmly, such confusion did the retreating advance-body cause in their ranks, that the affair would have turned out a disgraceful defeat. And with regard to the elephants, when they made a charge on the elephants of the Imperial army, two strong must-elephants singled each other out and fought together. And Ḥusain Khán, leader of the elephants, who was riding on an elephant behind Mán Singh, also joined in the fight. And Mán Singh, springing into the place (P. 233) of the elephant-driver, exhibited such intrepidity as surpasses all imagination. And one of these two elephants, which was a private one of the Emperor's fought furiously with the Ráná's elephant (which was named Rám Parshád, and was of exceedingly strong build), and the two kept charging at one another, until by chance an arrow reached a mortal place in the driver of the Ráná's elephant, so that the shock of the charge threw him to the ground. Then the driver of the imperial elephant, with the greatest quickness and address, leapt from his own elephant, and took his seat on that of the Ráná, and performed such a deed as none other could have done. On seeing this circumstance the Ráná could no longer hold his ground, but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Ráná. Then the young heroes, who acted as the body-guard of Mán Singh, performed such exploits

[1] And of our worthy Author, no doubt, with him.

as were a perfect model; and that day through the generalship of Mán Singh the meaning of this line of Mullá Shírí became known:

"A Hindú wields the sword of Islám."

And the son of Jaimal of Chítór, and Rám Sháh Rájah of Gwályár with his own son S'álabhán, who showed extreme obstinacy of resistance, went to hell; and of the clan of the Rájpúts there was not left one fit to be his successor—Good riddance of bad rubbish![1] And showers of arrows were poured on the Ráná, who was opposed to Mádhav Singh. And Ḥakím Súr,[2] who had fled before the Sayyids, retreated on the Ráná, and so the two divisions became one. Then the Ráná turned and fled, and betook himself to the high mountains, whither he had retreated after the conquest of Chítór, and there sought to shut himself up as in a fortress. And though it was so extremely hot, being during the forty midsummer-days, so that the very brain boiled in the cranium, they fought from early morning till midday. Nearly five hundred men were slain, and fell on the field of battle, of which number one hundred and fifty were of the people of Islam, and the rest Hindús.[3] And the number of the champions of Islám, who were wounded, (P. 234) exceeded three hundred. And when the air was like a furnace, and no power of movement was left in the soldiers, the idea became prevalent, that the Ráná, by stealth and stratagem, would keep himself concealed behind the mountains. This was the reason why they made no pursuit, but retired to their tents and occupied themselves in the relief of the wounded. And the following was found to give the date :—

'And victory from God appeared nigh'.[4]

The next day the army marched thence, and having looked over the battle-field to see how each had behaved, leaving Darah,[5] came to Kokandah.[6] And certain of the devoted servants of the Ráná, who were the guardians of his palace, and some of the inhabitants of the

[1] *Lit.* 'The base are diminished, and the world becomes pure.' A proverb, see Roebuck, p. 21.

[2] Leader of that division of the Ráná's army, which first attacked the advance-body and right wing of Mán Sing's troops.

[3] It must be forgotten, that there were Hindús fighting on both sides.

[4] The sum of the letters = 984.

[5] See p, 236.

[6] In our text the name is always *Kokandah*, but Blochm. calls it *Gogandah*.

temples, in all amounting to twenty persons, in accordance with an ancient custom[1] of the Hindús, that, when they are compelled to evacuate a city, they should be killed in order to save their honour, coming out of their houses and temples performed the sacrificial rite, and by the stroke of their life-taking swords committed their souls to the keepers of hell. The Amírs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Ráná, barracaded the streets, and drew a trench, and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly. And they had a list drawn up containing the names of all the slain, and the horses killed in the action, intending to enclose it with the despatch to the Emperor. Sayyid Aḥmad Khán Bárha said, 'There has been no person, or horse, of ours killed, whose name you will have to report to the imperial government, so what is the good of writing them down? It is more important at the present moment to look after the Commissariat.'[2] Then, since there was in that mountain district but little arable land, and so but a scanty amount of corn was produced, and moreover the Banjárás[3] did not come,

[1] It was a very common custom among the Rájpúts.

It has been equally common among the Jews, see translator's *Memor. book of Nuernberg*, p. 9 *Ḥarakat-al-mazbúḥí kardan* seems to be the Moslem equivalent to the Jewish 'saying of the Benediction used when slaughtering animals for Jewish food,' *(Ibid.)*.

[2] He was evidently a man of action, and no friend to red-tapeism.

[3] The trade of corn in India is carried on in a mode peculiar to that country. The merchants in corn are a particular caste denoted by the term *Brinjarries*. They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity; and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society, when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies, which spare nothing else, act under a special obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjarries (Mill and Wilson, Hist. of British India, V, p. 395). The name is *Banjárah* but also pronounced *Brinjarah* in India. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Banij* 'a merchant,' and not from the Pers. *Birinj* 'rice.' (Elliot, *The Races of the Provinces of India*, I. p. 52).

so that the army at that time was suffering from great scarcity, they set their wits to work to tackle the difficulty. Accordingly from time to time they singled out one of the Amírs in command, and commissioned him to bring corn into the lines, and wherever in the high hills and mountains (P. 235) they found many people congregated together, they broke them up and took them prisoners. And one had to sustain life upon the flesh of animals, and the mango-fruit. This latter grew there in such abundance as defies description. The common soldiers used to make a meal on it, fasting, in default of bread, and from its extreme juciness very many of them became ill. The mango-fruit was actually produced in that country of the weight of a *sér akbarí*[1] but for sweetness and flavour they are not up to much.

At this time Muḥammad Khán,[2] a special hanger-on of the Court, arrived from Court charged with an order to hasten to Kokandah, and examine the state of the battle-field.[3] The next day he went away, and having seen [from his investigation of the field] how every one had conducted himself he reported it to the Emperor. His Majesty was graciously pleased to be satisfied on the whole; only he was vexed at their having abandoned the pursuit of the Ráná, and so allowing him to remain alive. Then the Amírs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant, named Rám-parsád,[4] which had come into their hands with the spoil, (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded[5] of the Ráná, and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it) and together with it, the report of the victory to Court. Áçaf Khán mentioned the name of the Author, as a proper person to be sent with it, since he had been allowed to join the army through his being a particular favourite of

[1] A *sér* contained 28 *dáms* at the commencement of the reign of Akbar, and was fixed by him at 30. It is about 2lbs. avoird.

[2] Son of the sister of Tarson Khán. This last was in the service of Bairám Khán; but joined Akbar upon Bairám Khán's disgrace, and was sent to see Bairám Khán as far as Nágór on his way to Makkah. See Blochmann's Áín-í-Akbarí, pp. 342, 525.

[3] Similarly Napoleon used to go over the battle after a victory to criticise the doings of his troops.

[4] See p. 243 note 2.

[5] See p. 235 note 1.

his Majesty. Mán Singh answered [jocosely] : 'There is a great deal of his work still left undone ; he ought to come in front of the line and everywhere take the lead in battle.' I answered : 'My Imámship here is finished ; my business now is to go and act as Imám before the ranks of His Imperial Highness.' He was pleased and smiled, and sent me with the elephant, and appointed three hundred horsemen to accompany me by way of precaution. And he himself, taking advantage of the opportunity to enjoy himself in hunting, and to leave detached guards[1] in different places, came with me by very easy marches as far as the town of Mohaní, which is twenty *cosses* from Kokandah. There he furnished me with letters of commendation, and dismissed me to go to the Court. Thence, by way of Bák'hór, and Mándal Garh, I arrived at Ambér[2] the home of Mán Singh. (P. 236) Wherever we passed, the circumstances of the battle were published, but the people would not credit our statements. By chance it happened, that at five *cosses* from Ambér the elephant sank into a morass, and the more it went forward, the deeper it sank in the clay. And since this was my first service of such a nature, I was in a terrible fix. At last the country people of the neighbourhood came up, and said, 'Last year[3] at this very spot a royal elephant became bogged. Let them pour a quantity of water on the clay and mud, and then the royal elephant will come out easily enough. Accordingly the water-carriers[4] did so, and poured a quantity of water on, and the elephant became gradually extricated from the quagmire, and got to Ambér ; and the exultation of those people reached the very heavens. The Author remained there three

[1] The word *t'hána* is Hindústání. It is used again p. 237, l. 3 *infra* of the 'Station of Ara.

[2] Or Jaipúr, see p. 45 note 8.

[3] This word *pársál* is interesting since it helps to illustrate the word πέρυσι 'last year' 2 Cor. viii, 10 ; ix. 2. πέρυσι must have been originally πέρυτι = Sanskrit *para* + *vat* (sara) 'last year.' From first part *para* comes the Persian *pár* cf. πέρας. *Sál* is perhaps the Sanscrit *Çarad* 'a year.'

[4] Here the ordinary Arabic. word *saqqár* is used. But in India the common word is *bistí*, the origin of which is as follows : When Babar came to India he found the heat of the climate so unendurable, that he said that the only enviable people were the water-carriers, and that they ought to be called *bihishtí*, paradisiacal.

or four days, and then proceeded on his journey, by way of the town of Todah, which is his birth-place,[1] and Basáwar which bears this relation to him, that :—

'In that land his skin first touched the dust.'

And during the first days of the month Rabi'ul-awwal, by the intervention of Rájá Bhagván Dás, father of Rájá Mán Singh, I prostrated myself in Audience-chamber at Fatḥpúr, and delivered the despatches of the Amírs, together with the elephant. The Emperor asked; 'What is its name?' I replied: 'Rám-prasád.'[2] His Majesty replied: Since all this [success] has been brought about through the Pír,[3] its name henceforth shall be Pír-prasád.[4] Next His Majesty said: 'They have written ever so many praises of you, tell me truly, in what army have you served, and what exploits have you performed?' I replied: 'In the presence of the Emperor, Your Majesty's humble servant speaks even the truth, with a hundred fears and tremblings, how can he speak that which is not the truth!' And then I related to him succinctly what had happened. Again he asked: 'Were you unarmed, or armed?' I said: 'I had armour both for man and horse.' 'Where did you get it from?' he said. I replied: 'From Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán.' The Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and putting forth his hand to a heap of Ashrafís[5] (which in those days, just like a heap in a treasury, used always to be laid before him) presented me with a sum of ninety-six Ashrafís, and said: (P. 237) 'Have you seen Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí [since your return]?' I answered: 'From the dust of the road I came to the Court, how could I have seen bim?' Then the Emperor gave me a pair of splendid Nakhúdí[6] shawls [and said]: 'Take these and go and see the Shaikh, and say to him from us: 'They are from our

[1] Not *Badáún*, as English historians have supposed.

[2] It is a common Hindú name meaning 'Favour of Rámá,' from the Sanscrit *prasáda* 'favour.'

[3] He refers no doubt to the Saint Mu'ín, mentioned often before.

[4] He meant that it should no longer be named after a Hindú god, but after a Saint of Islám.

[5] See p. 229, l. 7 of text.

[6] I do not know whether this means from a place in Persia called Nakhodeh near the Lake of Urumiyeh.

own private treasury, and we had them made on purpose for you, do you wear them.' I took them, and carried the message to the Shaikh, who was very much pleased. Then he asked: At the moment of taking leave of you, I said, At the moment of joining battle remember to pray for me? I replied: I then recited the prayer 'O God! pardon believers male and female, and keep those who keep the Religion of Muḥammad, and abandon those who abandon the Religion of Muḥammad (on him be blessing and peace!)' He said: 'That was sufficient, praise belongs to God!'

This Shaikh Abd-un-Nabí eventually went out of the world[1] by a mischance, such as which may none experience or hear! and may it serve as a warning to all!—

'Whomsoever this world fosters,
At last it spills his blood.
What can be the condition of that child,
Whose own mother is its enemy!'

In this year the Emperor sent Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh post haste to the Khán Jahán (who was encamped against Dáúd near K'halgáon,[2] and was awaiting the arrival of Muzaffar Khán,[3] and the army of Bihár and Ḥájí-púr) entrusted with a firmán expressing his anxiety for those Amírs, and promising the speedy arrival of His Majesty in person. And he despatched five lacs of rupees by a mounted messenger, as a subsidy to that army, and also ordered several vessels to start from Ágrah laden with corn for the troops. Then news arrived that Gujpatí,[4] a zamíndár of the neighbourhood of Ḥájí-púr and Patnah, who had been subjugated,[5] had rebelled, and gathering together a force, had attacked Farḥat Khán, and his son Mírak Radáí, who were in the station of Ára, and had brought them both to the grade of martyrdom, and now held all the roads. On this account on

[1] See the year 991 in this History.

[2] *K'hal-gáṇw* (Colgong). The termination *gáṇw* in the Sanscrit *gráma* village, comp. Sátgaṇw.

[3] See p. 230, l. 4, text.

[4] So Blochmann, pp. 400, 441, and so, apparently, MS.; not *Cajítí*.

[5] *I. e.*, he *had* been, but now rebelled. The word *íl* is Turkí, and means obedient, submissive.

the twenty-fifth of Rabi'ul ákhir[1] of the aforesaid year the Emperor started towards the east of Hind, and came to a halt within five *cosses* of his goal (P. 238). At this halting-place Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán sent the head of Dá'úd: and this verse, which Sayyid Mír Kai at the moment of returning from Patnah to Jounpúr had chosen as a charm of prophetic meaning, came true :—

"News of the victory suddenly came,
The head of Dá'úd came to the Court."

And the history of the battle is concisely as follows. When Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán joined the army of the Khán Jahán in the neighbourhood of K'halgáon, he was very anxious to attack the enemy. So the next day (which was the fifteenth of Rabí'ul ákhir) the Khán Jahán issued orders to the Amírs of his own troops, and appointed to each the place he was to take. Then Muzaffar Khán reinforced him with 5,000 horse. And Dá'úd with the greatest presumption and pride, being supported by his paternal uncle Junaid Kararáni and other leaders, drew out of the fortress, and leaving his hiding-place offered battle. At the very first attack a cannon-ball struck the knee of Junaid and shattered it. When the armies closed with one another, defeat fell on the Afgháns. The horse of Dá'úd stuck fast in a swamp, and Ḥasan Bég surrounded him, and brought him to Khán Jahán. Dá'úd being overcome with thirst asked for water. They filled his slipper with water and brought it to him. But, when he refused to drink, Khán Jahán offered him his own private canteen, and allowed him to drink out of it. He did not wish to kill him, for he was a very handsome man; but finally the Amírs said that to spare his life would be to incur suspicions as to their own loyalty, so he ordered them to cut off his head. They took two chops at his neck without success, but at last they succeeded in killing him, and in severing his head from his body. Then they stuffed it with straw, and anointed it with perfumes, and gave it in charge to Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán, and sent him with it to the Emperor. They took many elephants and much spoil. And on the twenty-third of Jamád'-as-sání[2] the Emperor went to Ajmír with the intention of returning thanks for the victory.

[1] The fourth month.

[2] The sixth month.

And on the sixth of the month Rajab,[1] which is the anniversary of the decease of Ḥazrat (P. 139) Khwájah[2] (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) the Emperor arrived at Ajmír. And Sulṭán Khwájah, son of Khwájah Kháwand Maḥmúd[3] he appointed *Mír Hájí*,[4] and sent a sum of six lacs of rupees, in money and goods, to be distributed among the deserving people of Mecca and Madína, and for building a *Khánah*[5] in the sacred precincts. When the Emperor dismissed Sulṭán Khwájah on his road to the two Sacred Cities, he himself, with bare head and feet, and dressed in the *Iḥrám*, and in every respect clothed like a pilgrim, and having shorn his head a little, went a little distance in his train. At this a cry broke forth from the multitude,[6] and he showed himself moved by their devotion. And Qaṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán and Qulíj Khán, and Áçaf Khán were appointed to escort Sulṭán Khwájah, with orders that they should part from the caravan at Kokandah, and should scour the country of the Ráná,[7] and following his track wherever they should hear news of him, should bring destruction on him.

And contemporaneously with these events news arrived, that Sháh Tahmásp had passed from the world,[8] and that Sháh Isma'íl II had succeeded him. And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"It is the beginning of *Reign* and *Victory*, and *Conquest*."[9]

And the Emperor made a general order, that any one who wished might go on a pilgrimage, and that his expenses should be paid from the Treasury. And a great number of persons attained that felicity. But the revese is now the case, for he cannot now bear even the name of such a thing, and merely to ask leave to go on a pilgrimage is enough to make a man a malefactor worthy of death: "We alternate these days among men."[10]

1 The seventh month.
2 Mu'ín-uddín Chistí Sigizí of Ajmír.
3 Dost. Blochmann.
4 Leader of the pilgrims.
5 See Burton's *Mecca and El Madina*, III.
6 They were afraid that he was about to become a devotee.
7 Ráná Kíká, see above.
8 Sháh of Persia, see above.
9 The first letters of these words give 4 + 80 + 900 = 984.
10 Al Qur'án III. 134.

And at this time, when news arrived of the distressed state of the army at Kokandah, the Emperor sent for Mán Singh, Áçaf Khan and Qází Khán, to come alone from that place, and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mán Singh and Áçaf Khán (who were associated in treachery[1]) for some time from the Court; while on the contrary Ghází Khán Badakhshí, and Mihtar Khán, and 'Alí Murád Uzbek, Khanjarí Turk, and one or two others, of whom I was of the number (P. 240) were distinguished from these men, and were honoured with presents and promotion in rank. But all the rest, though they fell from the position of confidence, were dismissed without punishment.

On the 19th of this month the Emperor marched towards the country of the Ráná, who was pillaging in the mountain district of Oudípúr, Jounpúr &c.

At this time Khwájah Sháh Mançúr, a Shírází clerk, who at the beginning of his career had been for some time clerk in the perfumery department, and had been obliged to flee on account of the hostility and power of Muzaffar Khán, came to Mun'im Khán at Jounpúr, and was received with the greatest respect, and appointed to be his *díván*. And after the death of Mun'im Khán he came to Court in accordance with an imperial firmán, and on account of his exceedingly fine business qualities and soundness of judgment, he became *díván* of the whole empire, and by degrees became associated in imperial affairs with the prosperous Rájah[2]:—

"He is an incapable who does not rise to power,
For at all events Destiny is on the look out for a capable man;"

But some one has just reversed the statement and said:—

"The incapables of the world have risen to power,
How then can Destiny be on the look out for a capable man?"

[1] The *Táríkhi Nizámí* says that what displeased the Emperor was, that they would not suffer any plundering of the Ráná's country, and that it was this that caused the distress of the army. Elliot v. 401.

[2] Rájah Muzaffar Khán.

But the first is true, and the second is not a fair statement of facts.

And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. And, when Sháh Mançúr took to wearing a long tail to the back of his turban, they dubbed him 'The Star with a tail'. And through his excessive economy and stinginess in the army expenses, and the pitch that he reached in grasping in season and out of season; people forgot the tyrannies of Rájah Muzaffar Khán and kept heaping upon him abundance of abuse:—

"For many bads are worse than bad."

(P. 241) In this same year news arrived that Sháh Isma'íl, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp, Emperor of Persia,[1] had been murdered, with the consent of the Amírs, by his own sister Parí Ján Khánam: and Mír Ḥaidar, the riddle writer, found the *tárikh* of his accession in the word:—"A king[2] of the face of the earth:" and the *tárikh* of his death in:—A king below the earth." And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in 'Iráq the greatest perturbation resulted, while the Turks conquered Tabríz, Shirwán, and Mázandarán. And Sulṭán Muḥammad Khudábandah, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp by another mother, succeeded to the throne, as is related in its proper place. And the period of cursing and reviling the great Companions of the Prophet, which had lasted for 1,000 months in direct opposition to authority, and involved the use of improper language towards the sons of Ummaiya, came to an end;[3] but the heresy had already travelled from that country to this:—

"Error[4] came to Hind from the land of 'Iráq,
Know that '*Iráq* rhymes with *road to Nifáq*."

While the imperial army was encamped at Mohaní the Emperor wrote a firmán to Qutb-ud-din Muḥammad Khán, and Rájah Bagh-van Dás ordering those two commanders to remain at Kokandah.

[1] See p. 246.

[2] *Sháhinsháh* and *Zamín* give 768 in both cases. And in the first *rúí* gives 216, while in the second *zer* gives 817. Thus the date of the accession is 984, A. H., and of the death 985.

[3] Our writer means that while the preceding Sháhs of Persia had been *Shi'ahs*, the new Sháh was a *Sunní*.

[4] In Persian *Nifáq*.

and Qulíj Khán with other Amírs he ordered to accompany the pilgrim-caravan as far as I'dar, which is 40 *cosses* from Aḥmadábád, and thence to send on a body of troops to convey them as far as Aḥmadábád, while he himself should lay seize to I'dar, and extirpate Naráin Dás the Rájah of that place. So Qulíj Khán in accordance with his orders remained at I'dar, and sent on Tímúr Khán Badakhshí with 500 horsemen to escort the caravan to a place of safety. But the Rájah of I'dar, like the Ráná[1], after the fashion of robbers kept wandering from mountain to mountain, and from jungle to jungle :—

"What does the Moon, that the Halo does not imitate ?"

At this camping-place Shiháb Khán, and Sháh Bidágh Khán with his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab (P. 242) and Sháh Fakhr-ud-dín Khán and other *zamíndárs* of Málwah, came and paid their respects. And the Emperor left Ghází Khán Badakhshí, who had been raised to the rank of Commander of a Thousand, with Sharíf Muḥammad Khán Atgah, and Mujáhid Khán, and Turk Subḥán Qulí, with 3,000 cavalry at the station of Mohaní. And the military commanders 'Abdurraḥmán Beg son of Jaláluddín Beg, and 'Abdurraḥmán son of Mu'ayyad Beg he left with 500 troops in the hill district ; but he sent for Quṭbuddín Khán and Rájah Bhagván Dás from Gogandah, and having stationed Sháh Fakhruddín and Jaganáth in Udípúr, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán and Rájah Bhagván Dás at the entrance of the defile of Udípúr, the Emperor went himself into the neighbourhood of Bánswála and Dungarpúr. At this place Rájah Todar Mal arrived from Bengál, and brought to the Emperor 500 elephants from the spoil of that kingdom, and other valuables.

While at this place he sent Qulíj Khán (whom he had recalled from I'dar, and appointed Áçaf Khán as leader of the army in his stead) together with Kalyán Rái Baqqál an inhabitant of Cambay to the port of Çúrat to obtain an agreement from the Europeans, so as to set free the ships of Sulṭan Khwájah[2], which for want of such an agreement were lying idle.[3] Afterwards he was to come to Málwah and join the army.

[1] *I. e.*, Ráná Kíká.

[2] The conductor of the pilgrimage.

[3] The Portuguese held Bombay, and so were able to control the navigation of Súrat.

In the month of Ziḥijjah[1] of this year took place the New Year's day of the 23rd year from the Accession. He celebrated that festival in the castle of Dibálpúr one of the dependencies of Málwah.

The compiler of this Compendium had on account of a severe sickness remained at Basáwar.[2] He now asked leave to proceed to the camp by way of Bánswálah. At Hindún[3] Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán consented, but representing that road was blocked up and full of difficulties, he caused me to return and brought me to Bajaunah. And after some days on account of my anxiety to perform my duty as one of the Imperial Imáms, I went in company with Razawí Khán by way of Gwályár and Sárangpúr (P. 243), and Ujayn, and on the 12th of Ziḥijjah paid my respects to the Emperor in the confines of Dibálpúr belonging to Málwah. Then I presented to the Emperor a valuable pocket-Qur'án, and a note-book of marvellous and rare sermons by Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amín, a preacher of Qandahár, such a sweet-voiced preacher as whom had never been seen by any one in this generation. This Qur'án and note book had been carried off by some thieves from a certain halting-place a *cos* distant from Basáwar, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán had gone in pursuit and had handed over the things to me. When I brought them into his presence, the Emperor evinced great pleasure, and calling Ḥafiz Muḥammad Amín he said to him in joke: "They have brought me a pocket-Qur'án from somewhere or other, I make it a present to you." Ḥafiz recognizing it, was extremely delighted, and making profuse and boundless bows and prostrations by way of thanks, said: Your Majesty the very same day said to Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán, "If God will, you will find it, it can't be really lost." When the Emperor enquired of the author the circumstances of its discovery, I replied: "A company of labourers, who in some of the villages of Basáwar are occupied in digging wells and tanks &c., and who under pretext of this occupation do a little in highway robbery had stolen these articles. But one of them, having had a difference with his companion brought word to Sayyid 'Abdulláh

[1] The last month of the Muhammadan year.

[2] Lak'hnou Lithograph gives *Pasháwar*.

[3] That edition reads *Hindúán* not *Hindún*.

Khán, so that he was able to seize them all, and so they confessed the thefts they had committed." Then the Emperor said to Ḥáfiz: "If God will, the rest of the articles will also be found, so be of good cheer!" To this he replied: "I have attained my wish in the recovery of my Qur'án and note-book, which I received as an inheritance from my father and grandfather, and I cannot compose sermons myself. For the other things I don't care much." And eventually (P. 244) on the return from that journey those articles were all found among the things taken from the countrymen, as the Emperor had said would be the case, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán brought them into the Imperial presence at Fatḥpúr. While at Dibálpúr I was reinstated in my office of Imám, and Khwájah Daulat Názir had to keep me up to the mark, and in the old way one day and night out of the seven used to make me mount the pulpit, and the proverb became fulfilled: "Little Aḥmad will not go to school, so they carry him":—

> "Either thou goest, or otherwise they will carry thee, there is no choice".

And on account of anxiety for the affairs of that kingdom, the Emperor remained some days at Díbálpúr. And some of the great Amírs, such as Shahib-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán he sent, with the *jágír-dárs* of Málwah, against Rájah 'Alí Khán in the direction of Asír and Burhánpúr, to subdue that district. And Sháhbáz Khán, *Bakh-shí*, was to see to the branding of the horses and the mustering of that army. At that station Rájah Todar Mall, together with I'timád Khán of Gujrát, was appointed to look into revenues of the country of Gujrát, and into the stores of that kingdom.

At this time news came of the defeat of Rájah Naráín Dás, and the taking of Ídar. The particulars are as follows: When Qulíj Khán, through the efforts of 'Alí Murád Uzbek, who had been sent to fetch him, had left Ídar and returned to Court, and Áçaf Khán[1] had been appointed to the command, the Rájah of Ídar, who had become an outcast and wanderer, had with the assistance of Ráná Kíká and other *zamíndárs* collected an army and advanced to within 10 *cosses* of the station of Ídar, intending to make a night attack.

[1] See above, p. 249.

Then Áçaf Khán and Mírzá Muḥammad Muqím and Tímúr Badakhshí, and Mír Abu-l-ghays Bokhárí, and Mír Muḥammad Ma'çúm Bakrí, &c. agreed that it would be the best plan (P. 245), leaving about 500 horse to guard the station, themselves to make a night attack on the enemy, and so anticipate him in his plans. Accordingly just at daybreak on the 4th of Zilḥijjah, in the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984), when they had proceeded 7 *cosses*, Rájah Naráín Dás met them coming in the opposite direction armed *cap à pie*, and immediately attacked them, and arrows and swords and javelins began flying in the air. And Mírzá Muḥammad Muqím, who was in the van in advance of every one, in drinking the draught of martyrdom still showed his superiority. Defeat fell on the infidels, and they fled to a man and skulked like foxes in their holes. When the dispatch of Áçaf Khán arrived, a firmán of commendation was issued to the officers of that army.

In this year Mír Sayyid Muḥammad *Mír'adal*, who had been appointed to the government of Bhakkar, sent Sayyid Abu-l-Fazl and his other sons against Sabwí (?), and then reduced that fortress in a short space of time. And Mír Sayyid Abul Qásim son of Mír Sayyid Çafálí (who is one of the most important personages of Bhakkar and had come to do homage at Court) was raised to the rank of a body-guardsman. And this line gives the date :—

"To the sons of the Prophet[1] belongs the taking of Sabwí".

And in this year the Mír 'Adl[2] departed this life, and the date is given by the following :—*Sayyid-i-Fázil*[3]—May God deal with him according to excellence *(fazal)* !

Among the events of this time was the arrival of Sharíf of Ámul, and his interview with the Emperor while he was at Díbálpúr. The sum of the matter is as follows : This reprobate apostate (P. 246) had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to another, he went on wrangling until he became a perfect heretic. For some time he studied after the

[1] The brothers were Sayyids, *i. e.*, descendants of the Prophet.

[2] The father of the above-mentioned 'sons of the Prophet.'

[3] These words mean "Excellent Sayyid", and give 985, which is one too much. But, if we take *fazal* instead of *fázal*, the date is 984.

vain fashion of Çúfíism, which is void of all -sophy, in the school of Maulánáh Muḥammad Záhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwárizm (God sanctify his tomb!), and had lived with darveshes. But as he had little of the darvesh in him he set on foot abundance of vain talk and senseless effrontery, and blurted it out, so that they expelled him. The Maulánáh wrote a poem against him in which the following verse occurs:—

"There was a heretic, and Sharíf was his name,
Perfect he thought himself, not perfect all the same!"

In his wanderings he came to the Dak'hin, where from his want of self-restraint he betrayed the filthiness of his disposition, and the rulers of the Dak'hin wished to cleanse the tablet of existence of his image, but eventually he was only set on a donkey and shown about the city in disgrace. But since Hindustán is a wide place, where there is an open field for all licentiousness, and no one interferes with another's business, so that every one can do just as he pleases, at this time he made his way to Málwah, and settled at a place five *cosses* distant from the Imperial camp. Every foolish and frivolous word that proceeded out of his mouth instead of being wholesome food was the poison of asps, and became the absorbing topic of general conversation. Many persons blind to God's mercies, especially the heretics of 'Iráq (who separated themselves from the Truth of the Faith, like a hair from the dough, 'Nabatheans'[1] exactly describes them, and they are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist[2]) gathered round him, and at his orders spread abroad the report that he was the Restorer promised for the tenth century. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him he invited him one night (P. 247) to a private audience in a long prayer-room, which was made of cloth, and in which the Emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers at the stated hours. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and then stood still with his

[1] The 'Nabatheans' are the 'Bæotians' of the Arabs. "Ces gens sont fort grossiers. C'est pourquoi ils passent ordinairement parmi les Arabes pour des idiots et des ignorants." D'Herbelot.

[2] See p. 301, Text.

arms crossed, you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour is said to be a sign of hostility to the Prophet—peace be upon him !) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself as in worship, and then sat down *duzánú*,[1] like an Indian camel. And there he held *tête à tête* with the Emperor, and discussed various questions. No one except the *Ḥakím-ul-mulk*[2] was allowed to be present with them, but every now and then from a distance, when he raised his voice, I could catch the word *'ilm* [knowledge]. He chewed the cud of a host of foolish stories, and called them "the Truth of Truths", and 'the Foundation of Fundamentals' :—

"A race both outwardly and inwardly ignorant
Through ignorance is lost in folly.
They are immersed in heresy and call it Truth !
There is no power or might except in God !"

The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmúd of Basakhwán, who lived in the time of Tímúr the Lord of Conjunction, at Basakhwán, which is the name of a village in the neighbourhood of Gílán. Maḥmúd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such droppings of heresy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but deceitful flattery, which he called 'science of expressed and implied language'.[3] The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Bahr u Kúzah*[4], containing such loathsome nonsense, that when the ear eats thereof it turns sick. How the devil would have laughed in his sleeve, had he heard it, and what capers he would have cut ! And this gross fellow Sharíf had also written a regular conflict of absurdities, which he named "First glimpses of the Truth," in which he blindly follows Mír 'Abdulawwal. This book is written (P. 248) in loose, deceptive

[1] Kneeling and sitting on the heels, with the hands resting on the knees.

[2] Shamsuddín, of Gílán on the Caspian. Blochm. p. 542.

[3] So Blochmann (P. 177) renders the words *'ilám-i lafz u-ḥál*. Our "letter and spirit" (?).

[4] 'The Ocean and the Jug,' *i. e.*, God and the Soul, the Finite trying to reach the Infinite.

aphorisms, each beginning with the word *mífarmúdand* :[1] it is a regular poser, and a mass of ridiculous silly nonsense. But in spite of this folly, in accordance with the saying : 'Verily God the King brings people to people,' he so carried things before him, and knew so well how to turn to his own account the spirit of the age and mankind, that he is now a Commander of One Thousand, and one of the apostles of His Majesty's religion in Bengál, possessor of the four[2] degrees of Faith, and in his turn summoning faithful disciples to these degrees. An account of these degrees will be given later on :—

"Regard not the reprobation or approval of the common people,
For their business is always either to pray or to purr.
Common people believe in a Cow[3] as a God,
And do not believe in Noah as a prophet."

We make our complaint unto God on account of the world : if ever it does good, it immediately repents ; and if it does evil, it goes on in its evil course. The following just suits his case :—

"I was last year a star of the lowest dimension,
This year I am the Pole-star of religion.
If I last out another year,
I shall be the Pole-star of the religion of 'Alí."

And when the Emperor had satisfactorily settled the affairs of that district, he started thence by successive stages by way of Rinthambór, and hunting as he went along arrived on the 23rd of Çafr of the year nine hundred and eighty five (985) at Fathpúr. And Shaikh Faizí, who now enjoys the title of the King of Poets, wrote an ode, of which the opening lines are :

"The breeze that cheers the heart comes from Fathpúr,
For my king returns from a distant journey."

[1] *I. e.*, 'The master said', comp. the Hebr. Midrash *Yelammedénu* 'he used to teach us.'

[2] Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness to sacrifice four things, Life, Property, Religion, Honour.

[3] Al Qur'án II, where "Cow" is used for the "Calf" of Exodus.

Two or three months later news arrived of the troubles in Gujrát, the origin of which was as follows (P. 249). When Rájah Todar Mall went in the afore-mentioned capacity[1] to Gujrát, Muzaffar Ḥusain, son of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá, who was daughter's son to Kámrán Mírzá came from the country of the Dak'hin. At the time of the seige of Súrat his mother Gulrukh Bégum had carried him off from there, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years. At the instigations of a scoundrel named Mihr 'Alí, one of the old retainers of Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, he gathered together a number of vagabonds and raised an insurrection in Gujrát. Then Báz Bahádur, son of Sharíf Muḥammad Khán Atgah, and Bábá Bég *Díwán* of Gujrát, marched against Muzaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, attacked him in the *pargana* of Patlád, and were defeated. Then the Mírzá went off to Cambay with some 2,000 or 3,000 horse. And Wazír Khán, governor of Gujrát, although he had a force of 3,000 horse, on account of the dissatisfaction among his troops, who were by no means to be relied on, determined to shut himself up in the fort, and wrote a statement of affairs to Rájah Todar Mall, who was at Patan. Then the Rájah marched towards Aḥmadábád, upon which the Mírzá decamped from outside Aḥmadábád[2] and retired on Dúlaka. Wazír Khán and the Rájah pursued them, and a fierce battle took place in that neighbourhood, and defeat fell on the enemy, who retired to Júnágaṛh. At this juncture the Rájah returned suddenly to Fatḥpúr. Then Muzaffar Ḥusain returned from Júnágaṛh, and beseiged Wazír Khán (who for the aforenamed reason had, rather than risk an engagement, again shut himself up in the fortress) at Aḥmadábád. He placed ladders against the walls of the castle, and endeavoured to take it by assault: in fact he had almost carried the fort, when suddenly a bullet reached the breast of Mihr 'Alí, who was the Mirzá's absolute vicegerent, and the casket of his secrets, and brought him into a casket indeed :—

"Death comes unexpectedly,
And the grave is a casket indeed".

[1] See above p. 251.

[2] He had gone thither after remaining two or three days at Cambay. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí.*

As soon as the Mírzá became aware of this catastrophe he took to flight (P. 250), and went towards Sulṭánpúr and Nadarbár.

The renowned Amírs who, under the leadership of Shihábuddín Aḥmad Khán, had been appointed against Rájah 'Alí Khán, and had driven him into the fortress, and keeping him closely beseiged had ravaged the country, were very near taking the fortress. Meanwhile Quṭb-uddín Muḥammad Khán became anxious, and separating himself from the Amírs went towards Bahroṇch and Barodah, where he held a *jágír*, and which through the Mírzá[1] had been thrown into the direst confusion. The financial affairs of Asír and Burhánpúr had become so completely embarrassed, that the Amírs had to content themselves with receiving from Rájah 'Alí Khán so much tribute as he was then in a position to pay, and sent it to Court, and themselves returned to their *jágírs*.

At this time Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk Shírází, who in the year nine hundred and eighty-three had gone on an embassy in company with the *wakíl* of 'Ádil Khán ruler of the Dak'hin[2], returned and presented the elephants and other valuable presents of 'Ádil Khán to the Emperor: and after the superseding of Deb Chand, Rájah of Majholí, in the military command of Báns Barelí, Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk was appointed to the command in the skirts of the mountain district. From that place he wrote a report consisting of ever so many sections. In one of them he said: "Since I am separated from the Court, and in this desolate wilderness I have not a single individual of my friends for a companion, if a certain Rájah who is well acquainted with the good and evil of this district, and the whole conduct of its affairs should mention my name, and if people should be inclined to restore their confidence to him, and he should have many unrequited services at Court, please send him: it would be a great kindness to him, and a great advantage to your humble servant. But your Majesty's will is law." Khwájah Sháh Mançúr read over each section, and wrote an answer according to the Emperor's orders, but when he came to this section His Majesty gave him neither 'Yea' nor 'Nay':—

[1] Muzaffar Ḥusain.

[2] He was the reigning prince of Bíjápúr.

"Though hair should grow on the palm of the hand,
Yet thy locks cannot come into my hand.
(P. 251) Such is my hard fate,
And such is thy hard-heartedness."

And in the month of Rajab[1] (in the year nine hundred and eighty-five) which is the time of the festival the saint Khwájah Ajmírí, the Emperor turned his face towards Ajmír. And while he was at Todah, Sháh Abu Turáb one of the great Sayyids of Shíráz and counsellor of the Sultans of Gujrát, and Rájah Todar Mall, who after his victory over Mírzá Muzaffar Ḥusain had set out for the Court, arrived. When not far from Mairt'ha he appointed Sháh Abu Turáb *Mír Hájjí* over a caravan of pilgrims, and to I'timád Khán Gujrátí he gave a large sum of money, and permission to proceed to the sacred Makkah. And the Emperor issued a general order that any one who wished might go. And when I brought a petition from 'Abd-un-nabí, I also received permission to go. The Emperor asked me: 'Have you a mother still alive?' I answered: 'Yes'. He said: 'Is there one of your brothers who withdraws from the fulfilment of his obligations?' I answered: 'No, I am their only means of support.' To this he replied: 'If you were to obtain your mother's permission first, it would be better'. But that happiness I was not fortunate enough to obtain: and now with the teeth of disappointment she gnaws the back of the hand of repentance:—

"Thy favour did not do one particular thing,
And the time for the thing passed by.
On one particular day I met not with thee,
And the opportunity passed by."

In the neighbourhood of the town of Ambír, in the district of Múltán, which is an ancient city which had become totally ruined, the Emperor commanded the rebuilding of the city. A lofty castle, and gates and a garden were apportioned out to the Amírs, and they expended the greatest energy in the work of building, so that in

[1] The seventh month.

eight[1] days it was finished. And the Emperor made the rayats settle down in that district. He called (P. 252) the place after the name of Ráí Manohar, son of Ráí Lonkaran, governor of Sámbhar, and gave it the name of Manohar-púr. This Manohar, whom they called for some time Mírzá Manohar, grew up and was educated in the service of the eldest prince, and attained to great proficiency. Now he composes poetry and bears the title of Tusaní, and an exceedingly able young man he is. He will be mentioned in the sequel containing Memoirs of the Poets. Thence by way of Nárnúl the Emperor set out for Dihlí : and Shaikh Nizám of Nánúl, one of the greatest Shaikhs of the time, came to meet him. After performing the pilgrimages at Dihlí to the tombs of the great saints of that illustrious locality, the Emperor went on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Pálam.

At the beginning of the last decade of the blessed month of Ramazán in this year, news reached me at Rewárí, that at Basáwar a son had been born to me, a happiness which I had been long anxiously expecting. I presented an offering of *ashrafís* to the Emperor, and requested him to name the child. After reading the *Fátiḥah* he enquired the name of my father and of my grandfather. I answered "Mulúk Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Ḥámid". He said, "This child is called 'Abdul Hádí"—Hádí being a name which at that time was day and night upon his lips. Although Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amín, the preacher, and one of the seven Imáms[2] kept urging me with the greatest importunity not to commit this folly, but to assemble some reciters of the Qur'án to my house to recite the whole Qur'án in order to secure a long life to my son, I declined to do so, and at the end of six months my son died. If God will, may he be to me a reward and treasure, an intercessor and one accepted in the Day of Judgment !

From Rewárí I took five months' leave and went to Basáwar, on account of certain important affairs, or rather follies ; but I exceeded my term of absence and remained there a whole year. This neglect of duty and the machinations of my enemies caused me to

[1] The *Tabaqát-i Akbarí* says 20 days. Elliott V, 407.

[2] See p. 232.

fall from the Emperor's favour, and he took no further notice of me. Even to this day (P. 253) although a period of eighteen years has elapsed since that event, and eighteen thousand worlds[1] have passed away, I continue still afflicted with this unrequited service, which offers neither chance of confirming myself in his favour, nor opportunity of leaving his service :—

"I have not the fortune to have intercourse with the Beloved,
I have not the fortitude to abstain from Love.
I have not the power to fight against Fate,
I have not the foot to flee from the field."

And while the Emperor was at Hásdí, at the time that he was on his way to the Panjáb, a despatch arrived at Court from Sher Beg Tawáchí, to the effect that Muzaffar Ḥusain Mírzá having fled from Gujrát and gone to the Dak'hin, had been captured by Rájah 'Alí Khán, and was held prisoner by him. So at the beginning of Zí ḥajjah[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-five (985) the Emperor despatched a *farmán* to Rájah 'Alí Khán concerning *Maqçúd*[3] *Jauharí*, which resulted in his sending the Mirzá to the Imperial Court.

In the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram[4] in the year nine hundred and eighty-six (986) was the new year's day of the Jalálí period, corresponding with the twenty-fourth year from the accession :—

"The Çafar[5] of the throne wins the day over the Sultan of the sky
Verily his fame rises up to Aries."

At Patan the Emperor had the honour of visiting the tomb of the saint Ganj Shakar (may God sanctify his glorious spirit !), and then went for a *Qamurghah* hunt in the neighbourhood of Nandanah, and in the course of four days numberless game was enclosed.

[1] He seemed to mean that monstrous changes had taken place in the course of that time.

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] See p. 265.

[4] The first month.

[5] The old name of Muḥarram. Whence the two first months are sometimes called *Çafaráni*.

And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Qamurghah* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned :—

(P. 254) "Take care! for the grace of God comes suddenly,
It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise."

And at the foot of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the faqírs and poor, and laid the foundation of a lofty building, and an extensive garden in that place. And he cut off the hair of his head, and most of the courtiers followed his example. And when news of this became spread abroad in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouths of the common people, and some insurrections took place among the ryots, but these were quickly quelled.

While he was at Bahrah the Imperial Begum arrived from the Capital. At this time he confided the government of the Panjáb to Sa'íd Khán Moghul, and appointed Qází 'Alí Baghdádí (who is the grandson[1] of Mír Qází Ḥusain Maibazí) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as *Madad-i Ma'ásh* and *Aymah* in the Panjáb and elsewhere, which had been encroached upon. He had orders to abolish the old boundaries and re-measure the enclosures, and to put them all together into one village. Thus an exact distinction was made between the different grant-lands of the empire, and all this was done in spite of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, and the dishonesty of his subordinates. Thence the Emperor set out on his return to Fatḥpúr. And near to Khizrábád Sádhorah on the 5th of Jamada'-s-sání[2] in the aforesaid year the Emperor embarked on board ship and the Amírs and nobles of the kingdom also went on board a vessel to accompany him, but the army went by land. And on the 29th of this month the Emperor arrived at Dihlí. During the first part of the month Rajab he disembarking from the water-boat and mounted

[1] The Lak'hnau edition has asterisks after the word *naberah*.

[2] The 6th month.

a land-boat (which is a figurative expression for a desert-traversing steed), and on the 5th of this month he reached Ajmír and attended the festival held at the tomb of the Saint[1]. The next day at the same hour he started for the Imperial Palace, and travelling each day 50 *cosses*, he arrived at day-break on Friday the 9th. The compiler of these pages, who had come from Basáwar to meet him, paid his respects to him at that time, and presented (P. 255) the Book of the *Aḥádís*[2], which contains forty of them treating on the merit of war with Infidels, and the advantages of archery, and its names includes the date of it. It was admitted into the Library, and no mention whatever was made of any fault on my part in delaying to redeem my promise. And later that day the Emperor came to Fatḥpúr. There he used to spend much time in the *'Ibádat-khánah* in the company of learned men and Shaikhs. And especially on Friday nights, when he would sit up there the whole night continually occupied in discussing questions of Religion, whether fundamental or collateral. The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battle-field of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunní, and Shi'ah, of Hanífí and Sháfi'í, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief. And Makhdúm-ul-mulk wrote a treatise, to the effect that Shaikh 'Abdunnabí had unjustly killed Khizr Khán Sarwání, who had been suspected of blaspheming the Prophet (peace be upon him!), and Mír Ḥabsh, who had been suspected of being a Shí'ah, and saying that it was not right to repeat the prayers after him, because he was undutiful towards his father, and was himself afflicted with hemorrhoids. Shaikh 'Abdunnabí replied to him that he was a fool and a heretic. Then the Mullás became divided into two parties, and one party took one side and on the other, and became very Jews[3] and Egyptians for hatred of each other. And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious

[1] Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí Sigizí.

[2] See p. 207, *note* 1.

[3] *Sabṭí* is from the Hebrew *Shébheṭ* 'a tribe' and is applied to Israel as descended from the twelve heads-of-tribes (*Shebhátím*), the sons of Jacob.

ideas, and vain doubts, coming out of ambush decked the false in the garb of the true, and wrong in the dress of right, and cast the Emperor, who was possessed of an excellent disposition, and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro, and used to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity, till doubt was heaped upon doubt, and he lost all definite aim, and the straight wall of the clear Law, and of firm Religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islám was left in him: and every thing was turned topsy turvy :—

(P. 256) The matter of me and you has fallen upside down,
You *purchase* the very thing I *blame*[1].

Of this there were many causes and reasons, but in accordance with the Proverb 'A little guides to the much, and fear points out the culprit[2],' a specimen of them is brought forward in the course of this history (and God is the assistant !). In a word crowds of learned men from all nations, and sages of various religions and sects came to the Court, and were honoured with private conversations. After enquiries and investigations, which were their only business and occupation day and night, they would talk about profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, and the wonders of nature, subjects of which large volumes could give only an abstract and summary : and in accordance with the saying :— "Three things are dangerous, Avarice satisfied: desire indulged: and a man's being pleased with himself" everything that pleased him, he picked and chose from any one except a Moslem, and anything that was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes he thought fit to reject and cast aside. From childhood to manhood, and from manhood to his declining years the Emperor had combined in himself various phases from various religions and opposite sectarian beliefs, and by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books. Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and the storehouse of his

[1] The word عيب 'blame' is بيع 'purchase' written backwards.

[2] *Ex uno disce omnes.*

imagination, and from the general impression this conviction took form, like an engraving upon a stone, that there are wise men to be found and ready at hand in all religions, and men of asceticism, and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations and that the Truth is an inhabitant of every place: and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed, and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thousand years! And why assert one thing and deny another, and claim pre-eminence for that which is not essentially pre-eminent?

And Samanas[1] and Brahmans (who as far as the matter of private interviews is concerned (P. 257) gained the advantage over every one in attaining the honour of interviews with his Majesty, and in associating with him, and were in every way superior in reputation to all learned and trained men for their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and in religious ecstacies, and stages of spiritual progress and human perfections) brought forward proofs, based on reason and traditional testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacy of our religion, and inculcated their doctrine with such firmness and assurance, that they affirmed mere imaginations as though they were self-evident facts, the truth of which the doubts of the sceptic could no more shake—

"Than the mountains crumble, and the heavens be cleft!"

And the Resurrection, and Judgment, and other details and traditions, of which the Prophet was the repository, he laid all aside. And he made his courtiers continually listen to those revilings and attacks against our pure and easy, bright and holy faith, some of which are written in the book called "The Inspiration of Holy Scripture": and urged and excited them to his own path by speech both set and extempore:—

"The guardian gave advice to that fair one:
Do not smile on every face, as the rose through the wind.
When the advice became past endurance, that coquette
Knit her brow, and hung down her head."

[1] Buddhist ascetic, Sansk. *çramana*.

Some time before this a Brahman, named Puruk'hotam, who had written a commentary on the book *Khirad-afzá*, had had private interviews with him, and he had asked him to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence. And at one time a Brahman, named Debí, who was one of the interpreters of the *Mahábhárata*, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a *chárpáí* till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, such as Brahma, Mahádev, Bishn, Kishn, Rám and Mahámá (whose existence as sons of the human race (P. 258) is a supposition, but whose non-existence is a certainty, though some in their idle belief look on them as gods, and some as angels). His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, began to look upon them with affection. He became especially firmly convinced of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and he much approved of the saying :—"*There is no religion in which the doctrine of Transmigration has not a firm hold.*" And insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to establish indisputable arguments in favour of this thesis. And having instituted research into doctrines of the sects of the Hindú unbelievers, of whom there are an endless and innumerable host, and who possess numbers of sacred books, and yet do not belong to the *Ahl-i-Kitáb*,[1] he took so much pleasure in such discussions, that not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence. Sometimes again it was Shaikh Táj-ud-dín whom he sent for. This Shaikh was son of Shaikh Zakariyá of Ajodhan. The principle 'Ulamá of the age call him *Táj-ul-'árifín*[2]. He had been a pupil of Rashíd Shaikh Zamán of Pánípat, author of a commentary on the *Lawáiḥ*, and of other excellent works, was most excellent in Çúfíism, and in the knowledge of Theology second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabí, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Muzhat ul-arwáḥ*. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle in a blanket, and his Majesty listened the whole night

[1] People of the Book, Jews, Christians, and Sabeites *Al Qur'án* 46 &c., xxix.
[2] Crown of the Çúfís.

to his Çúfic obscenities and follies. The Shaikh, since he did not in any great degree feel himself bound by the injunctions of the Law, introduced arguments concerning the Unity of Existence, such as idle Çúfís discuss, and which eventually lead to license and open heresy. He also interested the Emperor in the question as to the faith of Pharaoh (the curse of God be on him !), which is mentioned in the book *Fuçúç ul-ḥikam*, and as to the excellence of hope over fear, and such like questions, to which people, who naturally turn themselves from the warnings of Reason and the prohibitions of the Law, instinctively incline. Thus he became a chief cause of the weakening of the Emperor's faith in the commands of Islám. He allowed that infidels would be kept for ever in fire, but the eternity of the *punishment* he thought doubtful, and not actually established he also introduced many changes into the texts of the Qur'án, and (P. 259) the traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him !). And the expression *Insán i kámil* he said referred to the Khalif of the age, explaining it in the sense of 'holiest,' and interpreting most things in a manner not wholly correct, and not a few of them quite wrong he uttered much such like nonsense. And he invented a *sijdah* [prostration] for him, and called it *zamín-bos* [kissing the ground], and looking on the reverence due to a king as an absolute religious command he called the face of the king *Ka'bah i Murádát* [sanctum of desires], and *Qiblah i Ḥáját* [goal of necessities]. And in support of these matters he brought forward some apocryphal traditions, and the practice of the disciples of some of the Shaikhs of India. And thus after a time the titles The Only One, The Absolute, The Perfect Man became commonly applied to the just, majestic, and magnanimous Emperor. Similarly other of the great Shaikhs, such as Shaikh Ya'qúb of Kashmír, who is a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some of the opinions expressed by that chief of the Qázís, Hamadání,[1] such as the following : that Muḥammad the Prophet of God (may God bless him and his race and grant him peace !) was a personification of the title *Alhádí* [the guide], and that Iblís [the devil] is a personification of the title *Almuzill*[2] [the

[1] Abdul-Jabbár Hamadání, see D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* fol. 395.

[2] Al Qur'án xxviii 14.

tempter], and that both names, thus personified, have appeared in the world, and that both personifications therefore are necessary.

Mullá Muḥammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the castle wall in the same way, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the three Khalifs, and called all the companions of the Prophet, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, (may God show favour to them !), infidels and adulterers, and represented the Sunnís and the *Ahl i Jamá'at*[1] as despicable and contemptable, and pronounced every sect except the Shí'ah as erring and leading into error.

The differences among the 'Ulamá, of whom one would pronounce a thing as unlawful, and another by some process of argument would pronounce the very same thing lawful, became to his Majesty a cause of unbelief. And since he looked on each of the 'Ulamá of his own age as superior in dignity and worth to Imám i Ghazzálí and Imám i Rází, and since he knew the worthlessness of those of his own time, he inferred the unknown (P. 260) from the known and rejected also their predecessors.

Learned monks also from Europe, who are called *Pádre*, and have an infallible head, called *Pápá*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel, and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murád to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul-fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismilláh-irraḥmán-irraḥín*[2] the following line was used :—

Ai námí vey Gesu Christu,[3]

that is "O thou, whose name is merciful and very bountiful." Shaikh Faizí added to this the hemistich :—

Subhánaka lá siwáka yá hú.[4]

[1] Those who in religious ordinances follow the *ijmá'* 'agreement' or common consent of the 1st cent. of the Hejrah.

[2] In the name of the gracious and merciful God.

[3] Our author seems to have imagined that "Jesus Christ" meant "merciful and bountiful."

[4] Praise be to Thee, there is none like Thee, O He !

And the attributes of the accursed Antichrist and his qualities were ascribed by those accursed men to his lordship The Best of the Prophets (God bless him and his family and preserve him from all Imposters !)

The accursed Bírbar tried to persuade the Emperor, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting[1] sun, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones, and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarial mark, and Brahmanical thread. Several wisemen at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was "the greater light" of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nou-róz-i-Jalálí*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. (P. 261) Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of the regent-planet of the day. He began also, at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindús taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, and the eating of their flesh, because the Hindús devoutly worship them, and esteem their dung as pure. Instead of cows they sacrifice fine men. This reason was also assigned, that physicians have represented the flesh of cows to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

Fire-worshippers also came from Nousárí in Gujrát, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaiánians[2]. At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abu-l-Fazl, and that after the manner of the kings of Persia, in

[1] *I. e.* towards Mecca.

[2] An old Persian dynasty.

whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation.

From early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of Rájahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*[1], which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship; but on the New-year of the 25th year after his accession he prostrated himself both before the sun, and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted.

On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans, by way of a blessing. The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the *ráḳ'hí* on the wrist, which means an amulet[2] formed out of twisted linen rags. [P. 262.] Every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions he treated as manifest and decisive, in contradistinction to this Religion of ours, all the doctrines of which he set down to be senseless, and of modern origin, and the founders of it as nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels of highway-robbers, and the people of Islám as accursed. But in the course of time the truth of this verse[3] in its hidden meaning developed itself: "Fain would they put out the light of God with their mouths! but, though the Infidels abhor it, God will perfect his light." By degrees the affair was carried to such a pitch that proofs were no longer considered necessary for abolishing the precepts of Islám. I remember, that in the early days of these discussions I had an argument with Shaikh Abu'-l-Fazl in the privy audience-chamber at Fatḥ-púr. He said: "It seems to me that there is a fair objection to be made to all writers [on such subjects] on two grounds. First—Why should they not have written as circumstantial histories

[1] The branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *Soma* juice.

[2] Sanscrit *rakshiká*.

[3] Al Qur'án LXI, 8.

of the oid prophets, as they have done in the annals of their own Prophet (God bless him and his family, and give them peace !) ?" I answered : "The stories of the prophets are numerous enough in all conscience !" He said : "Nay, they are too compendious, they ought to have been written more in detail." I answered : "In times gone by just the amount now extant must have been thoroughly sifted by critics and historians, and the rest not authenticated[1]". He said : "This answer is not satisfactory. But secondly—There is no kind of handy-craft's man, who is not mentioned in the *tazkirat-ul-auliyá*, and the *nafaḥát-ul uns* &c., but the people of the Prophet's own family what fault have they committed that they are not mentioned therein ? This is a great subjeet of wonder." On this topic whatever the time allowed was said, but who will care to hear it ! Afterwards I asked : "who will ever have a greater passion for all these notorious heresies, than yourself ?" He said : "I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport." I said : "It will not be a bad thing if you eventually take the yoke of marriage,[2] as they have said :—(P. 263).

He took upon him the yoke of the Law, by the help of God,
From off the neck of the world, Peace be to his memory !"

He smiled and went away, and as has been suggested by a man of the world :—

"One favour of the Judge is better than a thousand witnesses"

he fell boldly into disputation in religious matters with such imbecile old men as the Çadr, the Qází, the Ḥakím-ul-mulk, and Makhdúm-ul-mulk, and had not the slightest hesitation in putting them to shame, at which the Emperor was pleased. They sent privately a message to Abu-l-Fazl by Áçaf Khán, *Bakhshí* : "Why are you always falling foul of us ?" He returned answer : The fact of the matter is I am the servant of a mere mortal, and not of an

[1] History serves as a kind of filter for each generation, removing the impurities of the traditions of the generation before. *Abbott.*

[2] *Viz.* to Orthodoxy.

egg-plant[1]". By dint of his own exertions, and the assistance of his father, and the patronage of the Khalif of the age, and by the favour of fortune, he cast them all in a short space of time down to the ground of scorn and contempt, as we have already stated. And not one of the people of Islám, except Hakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and Mulá Muḥammad Yazdí could keep pace with him in any of the discussions. When further enterprises and propositions were brought forward I retired into private life :—

"When the desire is great
Difficulties become light[2] ".

I read the verse of flight[3], and fell altogether out of the Emperor's notice, and all that friendship became estrangement, But thank God that I am as well off as I am !—

"My heart did not go gadding about, and a good thing it didn't !
It settled on nothing but thee, and a good thing it didn't !
Thou saidest, 'I shall grieve if thine affair turn out well.'
Thou sawest that it did not turn out well, and a good thing it didn't ! "

I did not consider myself a fit recipient of favour nor His Majesty a fit object of service, and I was quite content :—(P. 264).

"Come that we may wave all ceremony,
You shall not rise to me, I will not bow to you."

And at long intervals I used to come and prostrate myself in the ante-chamber, and was a witness to the truth of :—

"Companionship will not arise,
Where dispositions are not congenial :"

[1] The egg-plant bears fruit all the year round, hence the Brahmans say (*Chaṇḍi* p. 69) when they fear that their patron is drowned, that he was an egg-plant to them, whereas his *s'ráddh* (funeral feast) will only yield once like a radish. Abu-l-Fazl seems to mean, that since his patron is a mere man and liable to die, or to change, he thinks it advisable to "make hay while the sun shines."

[2] "Where there is a will there is a way."

[3] Compare p. 48, *note* [1].

And afterwards according to destiny[1] :—

"I saw that seeing thy face from afar was pleasanter,
I left thy companionship, I ceased to be a spectator."

Since the account of those trifles and particulars, and the stringing of all these events in chronological order is of the number of impossibilities, thus much must be deemed sufficient, and my refuge is in the mercy of God (He is exalted !), who in all cases is the defender and protector of his servants, in fulfilment of the promise[2] :—"Shall not verily the party of God have the upper hand, is not God sufficient for his servants ?" I have made bold to chronicle these events, a course very far removed from that of prudence and circumspection. But God (He is glorious and honoured !) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islám, which 'Anqá[3]-like turning its face to the Qáf of exile, and withdrawing the shadow of its wings from the dwellers in the dust of this lower world, thenceforth became a nonentity, and still is so. And to God I look for refuge from reproach, and hatred, and envy, and religious prosecution :—

"I am content with what God has decreed for me,
And I commit my affairs to my Creator.
God has indeed been good in what is past,
So will He be good in what is to come."

In this year a certain *ḥakím* came to Fatḥpúr, who said that he could construct a house having all its four sides in the water. And that he could plunge into the water and enter the house without the water's penetrating it. With a view to this they made a tank in the court-yard of the palace twenty *gaz* by twenty *gaz*, and three *gaz* deep. In this they built a stone cell, and (P. 265) on the

[1] The Lak'hnau edition reads *muqaddar* not *miqdár*.

[2] An adaptation of Al Qur'án LVIII, 22, V, 61, XXXIX, 37.

[3] The fabulous bird (*Símurgh*) said to dwell in the mountains surrounding the world (*Qáf*).

roof of it they built a high tower, and on all four sides of the cell they left steps. But the pretensions of the ḥakím, like his medicines, proved a lie, and he fled and was seen no more[1]. But Ḥakím 'Alí of Gílán some seventeen years later did construct such a pond at Láhor, and Mír Ḥaidar a riddle-maker found "*The pond of Ḥakím 'Alí*[2]" to give the date. And that pond the Emperor filled brimful of copper coins, which amounted to as much as 20 *kror*. One day he had an interview with one Shaikh Banj'hú by name, a singer with a sweet voice, and of Çúfí tendencies, one of the disciples of Shaikh Adhan of Jounpúr (whose name gives the date of his death[3]), and had a very agreeable time of it. Then he sent for Miyán Tánsín, and other unequalled singers of Hind; but he preferred him to any of them, and ordered that Shaikh Banj'hú should carry off the whole of that sum of money. But his strength was unequal to carrying it, so he asked for a little gold instead. The Emperor, accordingly, presented him with nearly 1,000 rupees in exchange. And the rest of that money the Emperor in the course of three years, more or less, got rid of by means of various expenses. About this time he received from Shaikh Mubárak[4] a lecture on his extravagant expenditure. Before that, at the time of the [musical] exhibitions, Shaikh Faizí had said: "Our Shaikh[5] is not much of a courtier". "No," replied the Emperor, "he has left all those extravagancies to you." He sent Shaikh Banj'hú[6], and Miyán Tánsín, and all the musicians to the Shaikh that he might tell him what they were worth as musicians. He said to Miyán Tánsín: "I have heard that you can sing a bit." At last he compared his singing to the noise of beasts, and allowed it no superiority over it.

In this year Ma'çúm Khán, foster-brother of Mírzá Ḥakím, who was a brave youth, and was always performing valiant deeds, being vexed with the Mírzá came and did homage to the Emperor. He

[1] For the expression see Text p. 243, l. 11.

[2] The letters give 1002.

[3] *Shaikh Adhan* = 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 5 + 50 = 970.

[4] Father of Abu-l-Fazl.

[5] Meaning their father, Shaikh Mubárak.

[6] Mubárak.

gave him a command of 500 and appointed him to the district of Bihár. There he fought a battle with Kallá Pahár, a general distinguished among the Afgháns for his might and prowess, (P. 266) and gained the victory over him. The Emperor from Fatḥpúr sent him a *farmán* making him a *mançabdár* of 1,000, together with a present of a horse and a dress of honour from his own wardrobe. They say that he saw in a dream the glorified 'Alí (may God be gracious to his countenance!) so distinctly, that you would have said that the blessed hand had struck him on the back. Through this blessing he never turned his back from the foe; and the mark of the hand is visible on his back to this day:—

"What fear of the waves of the sea is there
To him, who has Noah for his pilot."

In the month of Shavvál[1] of the aforesaid year the Emperor sent for Mullá Taib from Kít'hal, and patronized him, and appointed him *Díwán* of the province of Bihár and Ḥájípúr. And most of his acts of patronage were of a like character. Also Ráí Puruk'hotam in reward for his commentary[2] he made *Bakhshí*. And Mullá Mujdí of Sarhind, who had formerly been warrant-writer to Islím Sháh, he made Receiver-General of revenues. And Shamshír Khán, *khwájah-sará*, he made Superintendent of the Exchequer. And these through the vileness of their birth, which necessarily produces vileness of character, having arrived at that place, were loyal neither to God nor their Emperor. They perpetrated all sorts of oppression and tyranny, and bending unsuitable and unfitting seasons to their wishes, so annoyed the soldiery that they compelled Ma'çúm Khán to revolt, as shall soon be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In this same month *Maqçúr*[4] *Jauharí* Mírzá Muzaffar Ḥusain brought the presents of Rájah 'Alí Khán from Khándesh, and presented them to the Emperor, who after a time forgave him his transgressions, and then honoured him by raising him to the dignity of son-in-law[3], and took him into favour.

[1] The tenth month.

[2] On the *Khirad-afzá*. See p. 265.

[3] In the 36th year he married him to his eldest daughter, the Sulṭán Khánum.

[4] See p. 260.

In this year the Emperor appointed Shahbáz Khán *Bakhshí*, with Ghází Khán Badakhshí and Sharíf Khán Atgah, and others to march against Ráná Kíká[1]. The Ráná shut himself up in Koṇbhalmír[2], which is a strong fortress. The imperial troops were victorious and ravaged that district. One night the Ráná (P. 267) effected his escape from the fortress, and took refuge in another mountain-fastness.

In this year Sulṭán Khwájah returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah and brought with him horses of Arabian pedigree, and Abyssinian slaves, and other precious presents for the Emperor, who received him with favour and made him Çadr.

The office of *Mír-Hájj* for the year nine hundred and eighty-six was given to Khwájah Muḥammad Yaḥyá, one of the descendants of Khwájah Aḥrár (God sanctify his spirit!). He left 4 lacs of rupees as a deposit at his ancestor's shrine, and in the month of Shavvál[3] of this year started from Ajmír to go to Makkah.

Now Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí and Makhdúm-ul-mulk having fallen out with one another had been the cause of people's distrusting both the past and the future, and had brought about a great declension from true religion. In accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "When two people clash together, they fall together" the Emperor sent them to Makkah together with this caravan. The next year they arrived at the goal of their wishes, and in the end of the business (which deserves honour for that result) they became cleansed from the stain of their countenances, and returned in safety to the fold of Islám, and learning eventually brought about its natural result, and "He is great, and man is little[4]" was found to give the date.

In the beginning of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987) news arrived of the death of Khán Jahán governor of Bengál. The Emperor wrote a *farmán* of condolence to his brother Isma'íl Qulí Khán, and he appointed Muzaffar Khán, who had been honoured with the post of Díwán, as governor in his stead, and Razawí Kháu

[1] Also called Prataáb, or Partáb.

[2] On the frontiers of Udípúr and Joudpúr.

[3] The 10th month.

[4] 5 + 6 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 100 + 6 + 40 + 30 + 6 + 700 = 987.

he appointed *Bakhshí*, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ he made *Çadr*, and Rái Patr Dás with Mír Adham as his colleague he made Díwán, and sent them off from Fatḥpúr.

On the 19th of the month Çafar[1] of this year the Author (praise be to the Most High!) was blest with the birth of a darling son named Muḥi-d-dín (may God prolong his days, and furnish him with wholesome knowledge, and acceptable works!). He was born at Basáwar.

In this year Mullá 'Ashqí, who had the title of Khán, and had written a *díván*[2] and a *masnaví* (a ridiculous one too!), and who had gone as *vakíl* of Qází Çadr-ud-dín of Láhor to Kashmír (P. 268), came back, and in company with one Muḥammad Qásim by name, ambassador of 'Alí Khán governor of Kashmír, brought presents of quantities of safron and musk and *costus arabicus*, and shawls and other precious products of Kashmír and Tibet.

At this time the Emperor sent Ḥakím 'Alí, a relative of Ḥakím-ul-mulk, of Gílán (who is now without an equal in philosophy, and medicine, and other rare sciences) in company with the *vakíls* of 'Ádil Khán of the Dak'hin to Bíjágarh.

At this time Mír Nizám, sister's husband to Mírzá Sháhrukh, came as ambassador from Badakhshán with presents of Badakhshí horses, and glittering rubies, and strings of camels.

In this year the Emperor was anxious to unite in his person the spiritual as well as the secular headships, for he held it to be an insufferable burden to subordinate to any one, as he had heard that the Prophet (God be gracious to him, and give him peace!), and his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amír Tímúr Çáḥibqirán, and Mírzá Ulugh Beg-i-Gurgán, and several others had themselves read the *khuṭbah*, he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the *Mujtahid* of the age. Accordingly on the first Friday of Jumáda'l-awwál[3] of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven, in the chief mosque of Fatḥpúr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty began to read the *khuṭbah*. But all at once

[1] The second month.

[2] Blochm., p. 598.

[3] The fifth month.

he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faizí had composed, but came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of Ímám to Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amín, the Court *Khatíb*. These are the verses :—

"The Lord, who gave to us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart, and a strong hand,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
And drove from our thoughts all save equity,
His description is higher than the range of thought,
Exalted is His Majesty, Alláhu Akbar !"

(P. 269) And in these days, when reproach began to spread upon the doctrines of Islám, and all questions relating thereto, and ever so many wretches of Hindús and Hindúizing Musalmáns brought unmitigated reviling against the Prophet, and the villanously irreligious Ulamá in their works pronounced the Emperor to be without sin, and contenting themselves with mentioning the unity of God, they next wrote down the various titles of the Emperor, and had not the courage to mention the name of the Prophet (God be gracious to him and his family, and give them peace in defiance of the liars !) this matter became the cause of general disgrace, and the seeds of depravity and disturbance began to lift their heads in the empire. Besides this base and low men of the higher and lower classes, having accepted the collar of spiritual obedience upon their necks, professed themselves his disciples. They became disciples through the motives of hope and fear, and the word of truth could not proceed out of their mouths.

At this time Muzaffar Khán, governor of Bengál sent a present to the Emperor consisting of 5 *lacs* of rupees in ready money, and other notable gifts of elephants, and cloth, which were beyond calculation, also 39 elephants were presented by Muḥammad Ma'çúm Kábulí.

On the second Friday of this month the Emperor assembled the poor and the deserving in the *chaugán*-field, and came in person to the place. Nearly a *lac* of persons, men and women, were present in that enclosure. And Sulṭán Khwájah the *Çadr*, and Qulíj Khán

presented to each a piece of gold. On that day of assembly eighty persons, women and children, were crushed to death under the hands and feet. And from the girdles of some of the women, whose husbands had died in Bengál, there fell purses full of *ashrafís* and rupees. This affair caused great suspicion to arise as to all the poor. An order was issued, that in future but few persons should be brought together at once, but he soon laid aside this rule also.

In these same days the Emperor appointed Quṭb-ud-dín (P. 270) Muḥammad Khán Atgah as tutor to the eldest prince, and held a great levee. The tutor as is customary on such occasions presented the Emperor with notable elephants, and other presents worthy of his new post, and taking the prince upon his shoulders he ordered dish-fulls of gold and jewels to be scattered to the people.

In this year an ambassador of 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek came from Transoxiana with a letter containing assurances of friendship. The Emperor sent Mírzá Fúlád Barlás, with Khwájah Khaṭíb, who was a native of Bokhárá, to accompany him with presents and gifts. And the seal of the letter was as follows :—

"When we are friends with one another,
Sea and land are free from confusion and evil."

At this time a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdúm-ul-mulk, of Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí *çadr-uç-çudúr*, of Qází Jalál-ud-dín of Multán, *qázi-l-quzát*, of Çadr Jahán the *muftí* of the empire, of Shaikh Mubárak the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghází Khán of Badakhshán, who stood unrivalled in the transcendental sciences. The subject-matter of the document was the settling of the absolute superiority of the *Imám-i-'ádil* over the *Mujtahid* and the investigation of the grounds of this superiority. In so doing they set right some doubtful traditions containing some disputed points, so that no one of them might any longer have it in his power to pretend ignorance of the difference between what is religious and what is political authority, but that he might stand self-convicted. And the discussion of this matter was carried on with great prolixity. Such questions were discussed as: "To whom is the title *Mujtahid*, and the word *ijtihád* applicable?" And, "whether it is the duty of the *Imám-i-'ádil*,

who is versed in politics and holds a higher rank than the *Mujtahid*, to decide according to the requirements of the times and the wants of the age all legal questions on which there exists a difference of opinion." At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly and the rest against their convictions. I shall copy the document *verbatim* :—

(P. 271) "Petition.

Whereas Hindústán is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal 'Ulamá, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the Law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qur'án[1] : "Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you," and, *secondly*, of the genuine tradition : "Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the *Imám-i-'ádil ;* whosoever obeys the Amír, obeys Thee ; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against thee, and, *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of *Sulṭán-i-'ádil*[2], is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*[3]. Further we declare that the king of the Islám, Amír of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, *Abu-l-Fatḥ Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar Padsháh Ghází* (whose kingdom God perpetuate !) is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions, which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

[1] IV, 62.

[2] Just ruler.

[3] Authority on points of law.

Further, we declare that, should (P. 272) His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qur'án, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islám, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamá and lawyers, in the month of Rajab[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987)."

The draft of this document, when presented to the Emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubárak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaikh had added at the bottom that he most willingly signed his name; for this was a matter to which for several years he had been anxiously looking forward.

No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal document, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of the intellect of the Imám was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows were abolished, and the superiority of the intellect of the Imám became law.

But the state of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl resembles that of the poet Ḥairatí[2] of Samarqand, who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Máwara-n-nahr, joined the old foxes of Shí'itic Persia, and chose the roadless road. You might apply the proverb to him—"I prefer hell to disgrace."

On the 16th of Rajab of this year His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmír. It is now fourteen years since His Majesty has been to that place. On the 5th of Sha'bán, at the distance of five *kos* from the town, the Emperor alighted and went on foot to the tomb of the Saint [Mu'in-ud-dín]. But sensible people smiled, and said, It was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwájah of Ajmír, while he rejected the foundation of everything,

[1] The seventh month.

[2] See Blochmann's *Á'ín-i Akbarí*, Translated p. 187, and Sprenger *Catalogue* p. 424.

our prophet, (P. 273) from whose "skirt" hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung :—

"The Fairy has her face hidden,
But the Demon is all ogles and blandishments :
The Intellect is consumed with astonishment,
What can this miracle mean !
In this Garden no one has ever gathered
A Rose without a thorn : Nay,
The Lamp of Muḥammad is ever attended
By mischievous-sparks of Abu Lahab."

After that the Emperor had started [for Ajmír] Makhdúm-ul-mulk and Shaikh Abd-un-nabí tempted mankind by suggesting the forgery of the Qur'án, and by going out of the way to show the impossibility of inspiration, and by throwing doubts on the authority of prophets and Imáms, and utterly denying the existence of demons and angels, and all mysteries and signs and miracles. Also the integrity of the traditional Text of the Qur'án and its verbal authority, and existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and reward and punishment other than by means of transmigration they deemed impossible, and tenaciously brought forward such verses as these :—

"How much of Truth is in the hand of the tomb !
The Qur'án remains, and many an old Tomb.
The Tomb tells not a word to any,
For the secret of the Qur'án none searches.
The Festival is come, and all shall be well—like the face of the bride,
The cupbearer will pour pure wine into the cup—like the blood of the cock,
The bridle of prayer, and the muzzle of fasting—Once again
It will remove from the necks of these asses—Aha ! aha !"

His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no god but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed

the date of this event by the words, "Revolution of Religion[1]". The Emperor tried hard to convert Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán and Shahbáz Khán. But they staunchly objected. (P. 274). Quṭb-ud-dín Khán said: "What would the kings of the West say, such as the Sulṭán of Constantinople, if he heard all this? For they all hold the same faith be it a travesty or no." His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he showed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he go away from India, and become an honoured subject there. He might go at once. Shahbáz got excited, and took part in the conversation; and when Bír Bar—that hellish dog—said: "You cursed infidel, will you go on talking in this manner, until I am able to pay you out!" Affairs became rather unpleasant, and the Emperor said to Sháhbáz in particular, and to the others in general: "Would that they would beat your mouths with a slipper full of filth!"

At this time Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, governor of Patan arrived from Gujrát.

And in this year Qází 'Alí of Baghdád, who had been appointed in spite[2] of Shaikh Abd-un-nabí to look into the administration of the *Madad-i-ma'ásh* lands, and their encroachment,[3] brought those holders[4] of grant-lands, which brought in 1,000, or 500 down to those which brought in 100, to Court, and cut off most of their lands, and taking the very calf[5] from the cow left them precious little. By this means respect for the families of the great and noble, and the renowned and famous vanished from the cities, and the children of no race were left so helpless as the human beings of Hind: "A generation came after, who neglected prayer, and followed their own lusts[6]". Schools and mosques were obliterated, and great numbers left their native country: and their children, who remained, in course of time got a reputation for mean conduct.

[1] 80 + 400 + 50 + 5 + 1 + 10 + 1 + 40 + 400 = 987.

[2] Instead of بر رسم read بر رغم as in p. 254, l. 11.

[3] Compare Text p. 254, l. 9; Translation, p. 261.

[4] See Blochm. 274.

[5] I propose to read غذوی گرفته instead of غددوی گفته.

[6] Al Qur'án XIX, 60.

"The schools were as empty of learned men,
As the wine-seller's shop of wine-bibbers in the Fast-month.
(P. 275) They turn the teacher's black-board into a draught board,
And the Reader's Qur'án into a gambling-stake."

And the Emperor after showing much severity to Ḥakím-ul-mulk on account of his opposition to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, whom he called *Fazlah*[1], at last ordered him to make a pilgrimage to Makkah.

In the blessed month of Ramazan[2] of this year the afore-mentioned Qází 'Alí brought me (who through my absence from Court had begun to look upon myself as one of those forgotten out of mind) before the Emperor in the city of Ajmír, and mentioned my 1,000 *bígahs* of subsistence-land, which he said caused me to waste my time:—

"To the Court of Princes in season and *out of season*
Thou shouldest go in order to receive some *grant*[3]."

The Emperor said: "I suppose that in the *farmán* for this grant there is some condition insisted on". He replied: "Certainly, it was on condition of his attendance at Court." The Emperor said: "Make enquiries, perhaps he is not well, that he absents himself so long." Ghází Khán Badakhshí said in joke: "He is suffering from a purse-complaint": and all the courtiers made some reference to the duties of my late office of Imám, which together with public prayer, was at that time in abeyance. Shahbáz Khán said: "He ought always to be present." The Emperor said: "We do not wish any one to attend against his will, if he does not care about attending at Court, let him have but half of the grant." Immediately I resigned it, and this was very annoying to the Emperor, and he turned his face from me. But when Qází 'Alí kept perpetually asking the Emperor: "What does your Majesty decree concerning it?" after a good deal of talk he said: "Ask Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí (who is now at the Camp) how much he ought to

[1] *Fazl* means "excellence", but *Fazlah* "refuse", "leavings".

[2] The ninth month.

[3] There is a play on the words *bégah* "out of season", and *bígah* a measure of land, about $\frac{1}{3}$ acre.

have without condition of attendance." Shaikh 'Abd un-nabí sent word by the late Mulláná Iláhdád of Amrohah: "Since he is a family-man, and the expenses he has are well known, we (P. 276) approve of his having the amount, which your Majesty has decreed, *viz.*, 700 or 800 *bígahs*. But the courtiers did not see the fitness of this, and put great pressure on me to be more diligent in attendance, so that *nolens volens* I fell again into the snare :—

"The clever bird, when it falls into the snare,
Has to bear it as well as he can."

All this arose from my not consenting to be branded as his disciple, and I used frequently to allude to it, and in extemporary verse to say :—

"I am glad I have not a horseman nor a foot-soldier,
I am free from the bond of the king, and of the Prince too."

In this year the *Tamghá*[1], and the *Jazyah*[2], which brought in several *krors* of *dáms* were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.

In the same year Ma'çúm Khán, son of Mu'ín-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán Farankhúdí, who held the governorship of Jaunpúr, came to the Court, and was afterwards sent back to Jaunpúr. And Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí the Emperor appoint Qázi'l-quzát of Jaunpúr, and the governorship of Diḥlí was given to Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, son of Mír Khalífah.

Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí, when he reached the province of Jaunpúr, issued a *fatwá* insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the Emperor. The consequence was that Muḥammad Ma'çúm Kábulí, and Muḥammad Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, and Mír Mu'izz-ul-mulk, and Nayabat Khán, and 'Arab Bahádur, and others, drew the sword, and in many places (as will be narrated) fought some desperate battles. The Imáms said, that the Emperor has in his dominion made encroachments on the grant-lands belonging to us and to God (He is magnified and glorified !),

[1] Inland tolls.
[2] Tax on Non-Moslems.

may the All-merciful have mercy on him! Finally Mihtar Sa'ádat who bears the title of Péshrau Khán, when he had been to Ma'çúm Khán Jaunpúrí and returned to Court, informed the Emperor of the facts of this *fatwá* of Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí, who accordingly on some pretext or other sent for Mír Mu'izz-ul-mulk and Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí from Jaunpúr. When they arrived at Fírozábád (P. 277), which is eighteen *cosses* from Ágrah, the Emperor sent word that they should separate them from their guards, and put them into a boat, and take them by way of the Jamná to Gwályár. Afterwards he sent another order that they should be made away with. So they put the guards into one boat, and them into another old one, and when they were in deep water ordered the sailors to swamp the boat of the lives of the two in the whirlpool of destruction. After some days Qází Yáqúb came from Bengál and the Emperor sent him to follow the other two. And one by one he sent all the Mullás, against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction, to the closet of annihilation. And having banished the Ulamá of Láhor, he separated them from one another like a disheveled thread. Of the number of these was Qází Çadr-ud-dín Láhorí, whose free-thinking was greater than that of Makhdúm-ul-mulk; him he appointed Qází of Bahroṇch in Gujrát. And Mullá 'Abdu-sh-shukúr Gúldár he appointed Qází of Jounpúr, and Mullá Muḥammad Ma'çúm he appointed to Bihár. And Shaikh Munawwar he banished to Málwah, and made him Çadr of that district. In this way each of them obtained the promotion he wished, but away from home. But on account of his advanced age, and because the Mullás had refused him the title of Shaikh, looking on him, as they did, as a mere travester, and a regular enemy and ill-wisher to the Faith, and an unfortunate old beggar, the Emperor made an exception in the case of Shaikh Mu'ín, grandson of Mulláná Mu'ín, the celebrated preacher, and giving him no trouble left him at Láhor. He died in the year nine hundred and ninety-five. And Ḥájí Ibráhím Sarhindí he made Çadr of Gujrát, and set him thither. He abstracted much treasure and gold from the fief-lands by means of bribes, and so heaped up quantities of gold. If they would not pay the bribes he used to confiscate their lands. This matter was represented to the Emperor,

and Ḥájí Ibráhím had to sue for permission to retire to the Dak'hin, until on suspicion of (P. 278) rebellion the Emperor sent for him, and committed him to the keeping of Ḥakím 'Azím-ul-Mulk. His Majesty used to send for him to attend the evening *séances*, and he inventing such things as would please the Emperor presented a pamphlet containing all sorts of lies about the great ones of the Faith. But this forgery and deception was found out. The sum-total of it is that he wrote in a clumsy manner in an old worm-eaten book a spurious expression purporting to have emanated from Shaikh Ibn 'Arabí (God sanctify his tomb!), to the effect that the Khalíf of the age would have many wives, and would shave his beard; and he included many other peculiarities of the Emperor. So his Majesty became again propitiated, and admitted him once more among his courtiers. And according to report Ḥájí Ibráhím had interpolated in an old pamphlet, one of the works of Mullá Abu Sa'íd, nephew of Miyán Pánípatí, a tradition to the effect that a son of one of the Companions of the Prophet came in shaven into his presence (God bless him, and his family, and grant them peace!), and that he said: "The people of Paradise will look like that." When he took to boldly disputing with Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, and satirizing them, the Emperor sent him to the castle of Rintamb'hor. There he died; and after the razing of the fortress, they found his dead body, which was tied up with long strips of cloth, and the story got abroad that he had thrown himself down from the top of the fortress. This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-four:—

> "Last night our share in this world was in a garden like Paradise,
> But this morning we are without house, *as if it had never been inhabited*[1]."

And any piece of orthodox learning which a man might have acquired became his bane, and the cause of his degradation. And the Ulamá and Shaikhs, the leaders of thought to all around, he sent for to the Court, and enquired into their grant-lands and pensions. He saluted and honoured them all in the Moghul[2] style, and

[1] Al Qur'án X. 25.

[2] See p. (46), *note* 3.

when they had had either a public or a private audience with him (P. 279), he settled upon them a certain portion of land according to the opinion he had formed of them. And any one, whom he knew to have pupils, or assemblies for dervish-dancing, or any kind of counterfeit[1] worship, he named "a shop,"[2] and either sent him to prison, or dismissed him to Bengál or Bakkar. And this business was always going on. Those Pírs who had reached a blessed old age, and those Shaikhs who were nearest eternity, were the best off. But to enter into details would be too long. And on account of these *farmáns* the Çúfís, who gave themselves up to dances and ecstacies, were subjected to the *testamur* of Hindú examiners, and through their evil *state* "they forgot their religious *ecstasy*."[3] These were banished from their country and had to creep into mouse-holes, and the whole position was reversed :—

"There was one year such a famine in Damascus,
That lovers forgot love.
Heaven became so stingy towards earth,
That fields and palms did not wet their lips."

And in truth those wretched assemblies, and absurd ceremonies, and those worthless hypocritical Çúfís were for the more part quite worthy of perishing :—

"That is not Çúfí-action or liberality,
But rather deceitful action and bawdery.
Theft and robbery are better than this,
Robbing the dead of their clothes is better than this."

However much I wish that this bit of sketch of a historical fact may be put together, my pen against my will slips from my guidance and turns in another direction to the description of this period of innovation, and the doctrines of the new sect and religion :—

[1] That is, in the Emperor's eyes.

[2] He meant that he was making his religion a *trade*. Comp. one of the sayings of Hillél in *Mishnáh*, *A'bóth*; and many similar sayings throughout the *Talmúdím*.

[3] A pun on the two meanings of *ḥál*, στάσις and ἔκστασις.

"The virtues of Káfúr, if I wish to praise him,
Or if I wish not, they dictate to me and I write."
"Hush! the master is coming to the house."
Would that I were quit of their business; But what can I do?—

"They are gone under the skirts of those by whom we lived,
And I am left among the worthless like the skin of a scabby camel."

(P. 280). I reproached heaven, that with sword of oppression thou hast slain
Assembly-adorning kings, and the youth of the Barmak-family.[1]
Thou hast placed thine own power of binding and loosing in the hands of a people,
Compared with whom a dog is honourable in respect of generosity.
But in the ear of my soul the answer came: Be content, live happily!
For a period of eighteen days[2] pulls out the beard of every one."

In this year Muzaffar Khán arrived in Bengál, and began a course of great strictness in his administration, and commenced wronging and oppressing the Amírs of that district, and confiscated many of their *jágírs*. He practised the *dágh-u-maḥall* in the Court fashion, and the settlement of accounts in the old manner:—

"Be not hard in reckoning with the world,
For every one who is hard dies a hard death.
In letting people be at ease spend thy time,
For he lives at ease, who leaves people at ease."

And Bábá Khán Qáqshál, and Khálidí Khán, who were nobles of great importance, however much they tried to escape the *dágh*, and begged to have their *jágírs* confirmed, did not obtain their request. But Muzaffar Khán with a view to getting back the

[1] Put to death by Hárún-ur-rashíd.
[2] *I. e.*, a short time.

money from the *jágír*, which Khálidí Khán had acquired through neglecting the *dágh-u-mahall*, put him in prison and ordered him the bastinado. It so happened that at this time he received a *farmán* addressed to him ordering him to bring to punishment one Roshan Beg by name, a servant of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, who had arrived in Bengál from Kábul. Muzaffar Khán seized him from the midst of the Qáqsháls, and using harsh language to Bábá Khán showed him the *farmán* and ordered him to cut off Roshan Beg's head at the head of the *díwán*. All the soldiers of that place on beholding this affair trembled for their own safety, and with one accord scratching their heads, and putting on their Mughal helmets, broke out into open rebellion. They assembled in the city of Gaur, which in the ancient language (P. 281) was called Lak'hnautí, and looted the goods of Muzaffar Khán wherever they found them. Muzaffar Khán collected a number of boats, and ordered Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and Patr[1] Dás to march against the Qáqsháls at the head of their own armies. It need hardly be said that by Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, who was a *bottle*-man rather than a *battle*-man, and by Patr Dás, who was a Hindú writer, no great signs of valour would be likely to be shown in this time. Muzaffar Khán sent a *farmán* to the Qáqsháls, expressing his wish to conciliate them all, and promising to confirm them in their *jágírs*. But they sent him answer, that he must send to them Razwí Khán and Patr Dás as a guarantee of his sincerity. Accordingly he sent them the aforenamed together with Mír Abu Isḥáq, son of Mír Sayyid Rafí'ud-dín *Muḥaddis*, all of whom they imprisoned, and then applied themselves still more vigorously to rebellion.

Meanwhile Mullá Ṭíb and Rái Purushtam, *Bakhshí*, who had at one blow confiscated the jágírs of Ma'çúm Khán, and 'Arab Bahádur and the other Amírs of Bihár, and had thus laid the foundations of unpleasantness, and allowing their violence and arrogance to exceed all bounds had forced them into rebellion, crossed the river Josá with their whole force in order to attack Ma'çúm Khán. But 'Arab Bahádur came upon Rái Purushtam unawares, and having slain him took much spoil. Then having opened a correspondence with Bábá

[1] تپر appears to be a mistake for پتر.

Khán Qáqshál with a view to co-operating with him, he hastened to Garhí.

On the side of Muzaffar Khán Khwájah Shams-ud-dín Muḥammad Khawáfí[1] (who is now *Díwán-i-kul*[2]) opposed their entrance into Garhí.

Then Ma'çúm Khán having been victorious and having succeeded in forming a junction with the Qáqsháls, crossed the river Ganges to oppose Muzaffar Khán. Muzaffar Khán shut himself up in the fort of Tándah, which consisted of four old walls and nothing more. Vazír Khán Jamíl Beg, who was one of the old loyal Amírs (P. 282), in conjunction with Ján Muḥammad Khán Bihbúdí and other warriors, joined the rebels. They took Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and Khwájah Shams-ud-dín and most of the nobles prisoners. But these two leaders together with Rái Patr Dás by some means or other effected their escape, and with the help of the *zamíndárs* managed to reach Ḥájípúr. During these troubles Ḥakím Núr-ud-dín Qarárí lost his life. The Qáqsháls and Ma'çúm Khán lured Muzaffar Khán out of the fort of Tándah upon a solemn assurance of safety, and then put him to death with all sorts of tortures. And making his goods and chattels the fund from which they drew in inducing people to join them, they collected a force. So the whole of the province of Bengál and Bihár fell into their hands, and they collected a large force of horsemen and foot-soldiers. They released from prison Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, whom the Emperor had sent from the prison of Qásim 'Alí Khán Baqqál governor of Kábul to Bengál, and made him their general.

Then Rájah Todar Mal, with Çádiq Mnḥammad Khán and Tarsún Muḥammad Khán and other mighty Amírs were appointed from Fatḥpúr to go and quell the rebellion. And Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, governor of Rohtás, and Muḥammad Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, governor of Jaunpúr, and the other *jágír*-holders of the neighbourhood were ordered to assist the Rájah. While they were still on their way Sháham Khán Jaláír engaged with Sa'íd Khán Badakhshí

[1] Khawáf is the name of a district and town in Khurásán. *Blochm.* p. 445.

[2] The 12 *Díwáns* who in 1003 had been appointed to the Çúbahs, were under his orders. *Díwán-i-kul* is the same as *Vazír-i-kul*, or *Vazír-i-Mutlaq*, or merely *Vazír*. *Blochm.* p. 446, *note* 3.

and slew him. Muḥammad Ma'çúm Jounpúrí joined the Rájah with 3,000 well-trained and perfectly appointed cavalry. But symptoms of rebellion were apparent in all his actions. The Rájah detecting this tried to soothe him by every possible means. Meanwhile he sent a report of the state of affairs to Court.

Muḥammad Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí, and the Qáqsháls and Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain with 30,000 gallant horsemen, and 50 elephants and a number of boats and cannon in battle array seemed to intend to offer battle in the neighbourhood of the town of Mungír (P. 283). The Rájah since he could not quite trust his army, which was on the look-out for the slightest change of fortune, did not deem it prudent to fight in the open, and so shut himself up in the fortress of Mungír. Every day skirmishes took place, and the Imperial army was reduced to great distress. At this time Zain-ud-dín Kambú, a relative of Shahbáz Khán brought by water a *lac* of rupees under a postal-guard, and delivered them over to the Rájah. This supported him for a few days. In the same way the Emperor sent a *lac* of rupees every few days, one time by the hand of Daryá Khán Ábdár, another time by Sarmadí, and another time by a son of the banker[1] Bhagwán Dás the treasurer, and so received news each time. Of the number of the postal-guard was one 'Abd-ul-Ḥay Khawwás, a handsome man without brains, son of Qází Çadr-ud-dín Sambhalí (who also in a blundering sort of way used to discuss ceremonial and religious matters), he died young, and his barque of life was drawn into the whirlpool of calamity.

At this time Humáyún Farmúlí, a son of the celebrated Sháh Farmúlí, who had received the title of Humáyún Qulí Khán, and at the time of the discussions about the new Musalmánish customs, and the worrying and examining of men at Ajmír, had been a witness of those dreadful pieces of work, together with Tarkhán Díwánah fled from the army of the Rájah and joined the rebels.

It so happened that during the course of the seige Bábá Khán Qáqshál fell grievously sick, and was on the point of death. Then Jabbárí, son of Majnún Khán Qáqshál, who was a strong pillar of that cause (and is now in high favour in the service of the Emperor) on account of the sickness of Bábá Khán showed an inclination to

[1] Hindí *Sét'h*, Sanskrit. *çreshta* " excellent ", " banker ".

be off. And so the solidity of that confederacy began to be broken up. Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí was obliged to hasten towards Bihár. And 'Arab Bahádur went from thence by forced marches to seize Patnah and get the imperial treasury into his hands. Pahár Khán Khaççi-i-khail, who is generally known as Sayyid 'Árif, shut himself up in the fortress of Patnah (P. 284). And Rájah Todar Mal sent Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí with a force to the assistance of Pahár Khán. 'Arab Bahádur, being unable to withstand the force opposed to him, withdrew to Kachítí[1], a well-known *zamíndár* (?)[2].

The Rájah and Çádiq Khán with the rest of the Amírs set off for Bihár with the intention of suppressing Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí. The latter made a night-attack on them. It so happened that he attacked the quarters of Çádiq Khán. On that night one Tórmáh Beg, a great leader, who in conjunction with Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian had been appointed to keep guard, was slain. Ulugh Khán fell back but Çádiq Khán held his ground. Ma'çúm Khán fought bravely, and did all that was possible, but when he found that the attack was unsuccessful he retired, and became a bandit throughout that wide district. Eventually he took refuge with 'Isá Khán, the *zamíndár* of Oṛísá, who at that time by the hand of Sa'íd Khán Mughal sent to the Court two hundred and fifty elephants, and other precious gifts together with a sum of four *lacs* of rupees, and gold vessels, and aloe-wood, and fine linen and cloth beyond compare, and which are there to this day. Thus the whole of the province of Bihár as far as Garhí came into the possession of the imperial army.

At this time the Emperor sent for Shajá'at Khán, and his son Qáyim Khán (who had a stipend as one of the musical people about Court, and was a smart and clever young man) from Sárangpúr to come to Fathpúr. On the road their attendants on account of bad conduct and evil goings-on, and faithlessness, and worthlessness, which are inseparable qualities of a leader of our day, killed both him and his son, and then dispersed. They say, that one day a beggar asked for something of Shajá'at Khán, and other Kháns, who were in the audience-chamber. After he had importuned them

[1] This is also the reading of the Lak'hnau lithograph.

[2] See Text, p. 285, ll. 7, 8. Transl. p. 293.

much he answered him: (P. 285.) "My good man, the door of alms which admits you, was not made by us."

After this event the Emperor appointed Shárif Khán Atgah governor of Malwá in his place, and having visited him at his quarters and received the greatest hospitality, he despatched him to that district.

In this year the Emperor sent for Khán i-A'zam from Ágrah, where he had been for a long time under surveillance, and treating him with kindness sent him with 5,000 horsemen to assume the governorship of Bengál[1]. And having sent for Shahbáz Khán from the district of the Ráná, he appointed him with a well-equipped army to assist Khán-i A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hájípúr and traversing the jungle of Kachítí should compel 'Arab Bahádur to come out of that place.

In this year Ḥakím-ul-mulk Gílání, being reckoned by the Emperor as one of those not to be trusted in matters of religion and faith[2], was sent, as has been already narrated, to Mekkah with a sum of five *lacs* of rupees, to be given as presents to the worthy among the *sharífs* and poor. And there he remained for the rest of his life :—

"I will not move from the head of thy street,
I am not the rolling-heavens, but the stationary earth."

And however much the Emperor sent for him he still remained there, and committed himself to God.

In this year he sent for the renowned Shaikhs from all sides and quarters, and had a private interview with each, and investigated several matters Most of them made themselves agreeable, having a grant of some *bígahs* of land in view (may dust be scattered on their heads!), and indulged in flattery, and wheedling, and open blasphemy. And their real intentions broke through their cloke of dissimulation. This is the portion of the enemies [of the Faith]: Morals remained after the loss of Renunciation, Solitude, Trust, Contentment, Aspiration; and even that too men saw stripped from them all, and so suspicion of them crept into other quarters :—

[1] See Elliot, V, p. 419, *note*.

[2] *I. e.*, He could not depend on him to side with himself.

"This lot of fools are clothed in rags,
They mumble some mysterious words.[1]
(P. 286) They have never advanced far in sincerity and purity,
Though they have destroyed many a good name."

Of the number of these was Shaikh Chánídah, successor of the great Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'azíz, an inhabitant of the town of Síwahnah. In accordance with the Emperor's command he went down to the *Ibádat Khánah*[2] and began to display and sell perverted prayers. He foretold that a certain lady of the harem would bring forth a son, but as it so happened that a daughter was born, the prophesy fell rather flat. In the same way Sayyid Háshim Fírozábádí opened that kind of business with a hundred marvels; and they became the cause of discrediting former teachers. But when the Emperor sent for Shaikh Muttahi Afghán Kásí from the Panjáb, in obedience to his summons he came from the monastery on foot in company with the messengers, while they carried his litter behind him. At Fatḥpúr he alighted at the house of Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and sent word: "My eye has not rested on any blessed sign of the Emperor." So the Emperor without granting him an audience sent him quickly about his business. Also Shaikh-ul-hadyah Khairábádí came to Court in accordance with a message from the Emperor, who received him standing with great respect. He had traversed the desert of Poverty with the foot of Trust and Solitude, and had not accepted any land from the Emperor. He was very intimate with the own son of Abu-l-Fatḥ, with whom the Author at Samb'hal towards the end of the reign of Islím Sháh, in accordance with the command of the famous Moulawí, the great Master Miyán Ḥátim, Sambhalí (God have mercy on him!), read the *Irshád-i Qází*, and the commentary thereon. He has now succeeded his father, and is the great authority on all knowledge and practice and Çúfi-ism. When a question was asked Shaikh-ul-hadyah, he pointed to his ear and said: "I hear an exalted word!", and the Emperor having excused him hastily dismissed him.

[1] الف لامي is in allusion to certain letters of the alphabet with which some of the Chapters of the Qurán, *e. g.*, the second, begin.

[2] See p. 200.

In this year low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence (P. 287), that His Majesty was the Çáḥib-i-Zamán, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of the Islám and the Hindús. Sharíf[1] brought proofs from the writings of Maḥmúd of Basakhwán, that he had said that in the year 990 a certain person would abolish lies, and how he had specified all sorts of interpretations of the expression "Professor of the true Religion," which came to the sum-total 990. And Khwájah Mouláná of Shíráz, the heretic of Jafrdán, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharífs of Makkah, in which a tradition was quoted to the effect that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over the promised appearance of the Mahdí would immediately take place. The Mouláná also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shíahs mentioned similar nonsense connected with 'Alí, and quoted the following Rubá'í, which is said to have been composed by Náçir-i-Khusrou, or according to some by another poet:—

"In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil."

All this made the Emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.[2]

Meanwhile a despatch arrived from Rájah Todar Mal, stating that all this while he had kept Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí along with him by conciliatory treatment, and all sorts of expedients. But that Khwájah Sháh Mançúr *Díwán* had claimed a good deal of money due from him and Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, and had written them exceedingly harsh and threatening letters and had caused them great annoyance. And, that at this critical juncture these payments were the cause of dissensions in the army. Since the exactions of Sháh Mançúr had several times been reported at Court, the Emperor refused him admittance, and after some days, thinking it the best thing to do, handed him over as a prisoner

[1] Of Ámul, see above p. 252.

[2] Of God.

to Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and in his place (P. 288) appointed Vazír Khán, brother of Áçaf Khán of Herát, as *Díwán-i-kul*. And to Qází 'Alí Baghdádí, a heart-troubler, unlucky, preposterous, owl-like, rejected of God and mankind, he granted the honour of being his assistant, that in conjunction they might decide important cases. Glory to God! what a proper combination it was!

At this time they brought a man to Court, who had no ears nor any trace of the orifices of the ear. In spite of this he heard everything that was said to him, though the place of the ears was quite level. And in this year, in order to verify the circumstances of this case, an order was issued that several suckling infants should be kept in a secluded place far from habitations, where they should not hear a word spoken. Well-disciplined nurses were to be placed over them, who were to refrain from giving them any instruction in speaking, so as to test the accuracy of the tradition which says: "Every one that is born is born with a natural tendency," by ascertaining what religion and sect these infants would incline to, and above all what creed they would repeat. To carry out this order about twenty sucklings were taken from their mothers, for a consideration in money, and were placed in an empty house, which got the name of "Dumb-house" After three or four years they all turned out dumb, and the appellation of the place turned out prophetic. Many of these sucklings became the nurselings of mother earth:—

"My mother is earth, and I am a suckling,
The propensity of children for their mother is not strange.
Soon will it be that resting from trouble
I shall fall drunk with sleep on my mother's bosom[1]."

[1] Compare Chaucer *Pardoner's Tale* 12661—12672.

"Ne Death alas! ne will not have my life.
Thus walk I like a restless caitiff,
And on the ground which is my mother's gate
I knockë with my staff, early and late
And say to her, "Leve mother, let me in," &c.

Also Cowley's *Old Man of Verona*. And in Eastern literature Job i. 21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return *thither*," *scil.* ἐπὶ ταφῃ εἰς μητέρα πάντων, Eccles. xl. 1. And Rig Veda (X, 18), as the body is committed to the earth, the hymn proceeds:—

In this year the Emperor sent the prince Dániyál with Shaikh Faizí, who was his teacher, and Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and a number of courtiers to Ajmír. And he presented a donation of 5,020 rupees to the *faqírs* of that monastery.

In this year Rajah Todar Mal and the other imperial Amírs passed the rainy season in Hájípúr. (P. 289.)

And Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, who was in a discontented state of mind went to Jounpúr without the permission of the Amírs, and broke out into rebellion. The Emperor sent Peshrou Khán, known as Mihtar Sa'ádat, the head of the chamberlain department (*dáróghah-e-faráshkhánah)*, with a *farmán* to appease him, and the government of Jounpúr was given to Tarsún Khán, and that of Oudh to Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí. He uttering some wild speeches like a crazy man, and considering Oudh an out-of-the-way corner of the Empire, went there and began to prepare for war.

Meanwhile Mihtar Sa'ádat came to Court, and again recounted how that Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí had issued a *fatwá* authorizing rebellion and insurrection. This was the cause of Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí and Mír Mu'izz-ul-mulk being sent for, as has been narrated[1].

At this time Niyábat Khán, son of Háshim Khán, Níshápúrí, who at the time of the Emperor's going to Patnah had found favour, revolted in Jhosí and Piyáj, which was his *jágír ;* and marching against Kaṛah, which sided with Isma'íl Qulí Khán : and an Afghán named Ilyás Khán, who was governor of that place, slew Ilyás Khán in battle. They then laid seige to the fortress, and began to ravage and lay waste the country. The Emperor appointed Isma'íl Qulí Khán *Vazír Khán*, and Muṭlab Khán, and Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and other Amírs, to march against Niyábat Khán.

Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Bírbar *bádfarosh*[2], he sent to Oudh to try and appease Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí.

" Approach thou now the lap of earth, thy mother,
The wide-extending earth, the ever kindly."

Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely.

[1] See p. 285.

[2] Minstrel, dealer in encomiums.

After the departure of Vazír Khán, the Emperor released[1] Khwájah Sháh Mançúr, and reappointed him *díwán-i-kul*.

When Niyábat Khán heard of the despatch of this army against him, he raised the seige of Kaṛah, and went towards Gasht a dependency of the district of Patnah. The Amírs crossed the river and quickly attacked him. He turned back to offer battle, and alone against so many Amírs fought such a desperate battle, that imagination fails to picture it (P. 290). At first he threw their army into utter confusion, and having dismounted Shaikh Jamál spared his life. But eventually he was put to flight, and retreated to Oudh to Ma'çúm Khán.

And 'Arab Bahádur was at the same time defeated by Shahbáz Khán, and also took refuge with Ma'çúm Khán. Shahbáz Khán went in pursuit of 'Arab Bahádur, first to Jounpúr, and afterwards to Oudh. Ma'çúm Khán, who had such a quantity of war *matériel* that, to use an hyperbole, he could have withstood the kings of Irán and Turán both at once, and had thirty or forty banners and tails and kettle-drums in his army, and paraphernalia in the same proportion, hastened to attack Shahbáz Khán, and in the twinkling of an eye overcame him. Shahbáz Khán fled in one day a distance of forty *cosses* as far as Jounpúr. But by good luck Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, who was in the right wing of Shahbáz Khán's army, had remained hidden in the jungle, and at the moment that the troops of Ma'çúm Khán were dispersed after booty, he with a few followers seizing his opportunity charged in among his disorganized soldiery and defeated him. As soon as Shahbáz Khán heard this news, he hasted back just as quickly as he had gone, and joined the force of Tarsún Muḥammad Khán. He attacked Ma'çúm Khán a second time, and a great battle was fought in the environs of Oudh. This time Ma'çúm Khán was put to fight, and disappeared. His mother and sister and wife and son and his goods and chattels, and all his paraphernalia of pomp and power were taken as spoil. He himself fled headlong, not knowing his crupper from his reins, and took refuge in the Sawálik mountains. This event took place in the month of Zi-ḥájjah[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-eight (988).

[1] See above p. 295.

[2] The twelfth month.

At this time an organ, which was one of the wonders of creation, and which Ḥájí Ḥabíb-ulláh had brought from Europe, was exhibited to mankind. It was like a great box (P. 290) the size of a man. A European sits inside it and plays the strings thereof, and two others outside keep putting their fingers on five peacock-wings[1], and all sorts of sounds come forth. And because the Emperor was so pleased, the Europeans kept coming at every moment in red and yellow colours, and went from one extravagance to another. The people at the meeting were astounded at this wonder, and indeed it is impossible for language to do justice to the description of it.

At one of the meetings the Emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of the man, who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they were not to mention kings, as they formed an exception. Thus Ḥakím Humám mentioned himself, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl his own father.

During this time the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor Property, Life, Honour, and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne.

In the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989) news arrived that Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím on the invitation of the two Ma'çúms[3], and at the instigation of Farídún Khán, who was his maternal uncle, and a regular leprous spot[4], set out with the intention of conquering Hindústán. He sent his servant Shádmán over the Indus, but Mán Singh, son of Bhagwán Dás marched to oppose him, and slew him. On hearing the news the Mírza crossed the Indus, and encamped in the environs of Sayyidpúr.

Upon this the Emperor, having advanced the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, and leaving the prince Dániyál with

[1] Probably the bellows.

[2] The first month.

[3] *Viz.*, Ma'çúm Kábulí, and Ma'çúm Farankhúdí.

[4] There is a play on the word *khál*, which means both "uncle" and "mole."

Sulṭán Khwájah *Çadr*, and Shaikh Ibráhím the Abyssinian, as vice-gerents, marched from Fatḥpúr towards the Punjáb. At the *saráí* of Bád, which is fifteen *cosses* from Fatḥpúr, news arrived of the victory of Shahbáz Khán.[1]

(P. 292). Mán Singh found in the portfolio of Shádmán three letters of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím addressed respectively to Hakím-ul-mulk Gílání, Sháh Mançúr *Díwán*, and Qásim Khán *Mír-baḥr*. He sent them *verbatim* to the Emperor, who read them, but kept the matter to himself.

At Dihlí news arrived, that the Mírzá was encamped at Láhor in the garden of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and that Rájah Bhagwán Dás, and Mán Singh, and Sa'íd Khán had shut themselves up in the fortress.

At Pánípat Malik Sání Kábulí, *vazír* of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, who had the title of Vazír Khán, having been vexed by the Mírzá arrived at the quarters of Sháh Mançúr, and got him to introduce him at Court Since there had not been in times past any such manifest intimacy and connection between these two persons, the absence of Sání Khán from the Mírzá at such a juncture seemed to the Emperor to be accounted for by some design on the part of the Mírzá, and as not being devoid of interested motives, so it confirmed his previous suspicions of Khwájah Sháh Mançúr. Accordingly he had him arrested and showed him the letters. However much he swore to his own innocence it did him no good, for it is an acknowledged principle, that "A denial on oath is no proof of innocence." In the neighbourhood of Sháhábád Malik 'Alí, brother of Qází 'Alí, who is now *Kotwál* of Láhor, sent to the Court in one parcel two obscure letters. One was addressed to Sháh Mançúr from one Musharraf[2] Beg, who was a servant of Sháh Mançúr. The second was from a person, whose identity was suspected, containing an account of his interview, first with Farídún Khán, and secondly with the Mírzá, and how the Mírzá had settled the affairs of a certain *parganna*, which was either known or suspected. And this much became known by inference and conjecture, that Sharaf Beg, a servant of Sháh Mançúr, who was

[1] Over Ma'çúm Farankhúdí.

[2] Called Sharaf lower down, and also in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*.

Shikkdár[1] on his behalf in the *parganna* of Fírozpúr, thirty *cosses* from Láhor, had written to his master: "I have had an interview with the Mírzá through the intervention of Farídún Khán, he has sent his agents everywhere, but he has exempted our *parganna*." (P. 293) And suspicion became a certainty. Most, nay all, of the Amírs, who had received many annoyances from Sháh Mançúr, were longing for his fall. With one consent they exerted themselves to secure his execution. In the morning the Emperor ordered the Captain of the guard[2] to hang him on gallows at the *Manzil* of Kajh-koṭ[3]. His numerous oppressions of the people formed the halter round his neck, and may it remain clinging there till the day of Resurrection. "Beware of the service of kings, for they pride themselves on giving an answer in peace, but they think nothing of cutting off your head in punishment :—

Be of good cheer, for no tyrant
Completes his course in peace."

The Emperor came by way of Sarhind to Kalánor and Rohtás, and reached the Indus. When the Mírzá heard this news, he crossed the river of Láhor, and turned his reins back to Kábul. And so the mystery of the verse[4]: "On that day shall a man flee from his brother" became manifest.

In the month of Rabí'us-sání[5] of this year the Emperor ordered to be built on the banks of the Indus[6], which is generally known as the *Sind-ságar*, a fortress, which he called Aṭak Banáras, to distinguish it from Kaṭak Banáras[7].

From this place he sent the prince Sulṭán Murád with Qulíj Khán and other Amírs to Kábul. And prior to this he had sent Mán Singh with a body of Amírs towards Pasháwar.

[1] Revenue-collector.

[2] The *Khidmatiyyah* were foot-guards on duty in the environs of the palace. These chiefs received the title of *Khidmat-rái*. *Blochm*. p. 252.

[3] Called in the *Akbarnámah* the *Saráí* of Koṭ K'hachwah. *Blochm* p 431, *n*.

[4] Al Qur'án LXXX, 30.

[5] The fourth month.

[6] *Níláb*.

[7] These were the two frontier towns of his empire, and he wished them to have similar names. *Blochm*. p. 374 *n*.

At this time the Mírzá sent Khwájah Abu-l-Fazl Naqshbandí, and Muḥammad 'Alí Díwánah as ambassadors to the Court to sue for pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent back with them Ḥájí Ḥabíb-ulláh with the message: "Forgiveness is conditional on repentance for what is past, and an oath for future conduct, also on your sending to the Court your sister, who is married to Khwájah Ḥasan." The Mírzá said to Ḥájí: "Khwájah Ḥasan will not agree to sending my sister, for he has taken her away to Badakhsháu. But I am very sorry for what I have done :—

I have repented, and am sorry for what I have done,
(P. 294) Call me no more a Káfir, for I am become a Muslim."

On the 15th of Jamáda's-sání having crossed the river Indus the Emperor sent Khwájah Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad in haste to Jalálábád to the prince Sháh Murád and the Amírs, with the request: "Please send me your advice." They replied: "The best thing you can do is to come as quickly as possible." And both Nizám ud-dín Aḥmad, and Ḥájí Ḥabíb-ulláh came together from that place, and at Pasháwar gave each his own message to the Emperor. Nizám-ud-dín Aḥamad said: "Although the Amírs in their usual talk say: 'We ourselves are sufficient'; yet in the language of present facts[1] they say: 'Victory follows on the footsteps of the Emperor.'" Accordingly the Emperor left the prince Sulṭán Salím with Rájah Bhagwán Dás and Qází 'Alí *Mírbakhshí* in the camp, and travelling express at the rate of twenty *cosses* a day arrived at a place called Surkháb, fifteen *cosses* from the camp of Prince Murád. Then Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím at seven *cosses* from Kábul, at a place called Khurd-kábul had a severe engagement with his nephew[2], who was like the king's son in the game of great chess[3]. The Mírzá at last took to flight with the intention of taking refuge with Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek. Prince Murád entered Kábul.

[1] This juxtaposition of *qál* "voice", and *ḥál* "present circumstances" reminds one of Demosthenes, 1st Olynthiac *ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς μονονουχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιείς.*

[2] Prince Murád.

[3] See Bland in Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. 13 (old series).

The day before the action Farídún Khán had attacked the rear of the Prince's army, and had slain many men. He had plundered the treasury of Qulíj Khán and the other Amírs, and carried off much spoil. Ḥájí Muḥammad an *Aḥadí*, who had preceded the Emperor by means of postal-relays, arrived on the spot just as the plundering was going on. When he saw what had happened, he returned to Surkháb and told the tale to the Empersr in an incoherent manner, and caused him much annoyance. The next day, as the Emperor was recommencing his march, news of the victory was brought.

On the tenth of the month Rajab[1] the Emperor entered the fortress of Kábul. He spent a week enjoying himself in the gardens (P. 295) of that city. When he enquired of some trusty followers of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím the history of the affair of that letter to Sháh Mançúr, and examined closely into the matter, he found out that Karam-ulláh, brother of Shahbáz Khán together with other Amírs had concocted all this forgery and deception, and that the last letter also, which had been the cause of his being put to death, was a forgery of the Amírs. So the Emperor was very much grieved about the execution of Sháh Mançúr :—

> "Thy noble death, which was intended [by God],
> Was brought about by the instrumentality of man."

But that repentance was like the drinking of the elixer by Sohráb[2].

The Emperor sent Laṭíf Khwájah *Mír shikár* to the Mírzá to tell him that his offences were forgiven, and so prevented his taking refuge in the territory of the Uzbeks. Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím took in his presence on oath of alleigance, and executed an engagement, which he sent by 'Alí Muḥammad Asp along with him to the Court.

His Majesty conferred Kábul upon Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and leaving the army he returned quickly to Jalálábád, where there was a large encampment. At this time Khwájagí Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Muḥammad Qásim Khán *Mir baḥr*, who was

[1] The seventh month.
[2] That is, it was too late.

one of the confidential Amírs of the Mírzá, came and did homage to the Emperor.

From Jalálábád he sent an army to plunder and lay waste the mountain district of Kator[1], which is a well-known stronghold of Káfirs, and then stage by stage he marched to the Sindságar[2], which he reached on the twelfth of Sha'bán[3]. There he crossed over and transported his whole army by a bridge in one day, and by successive marches went quickly to Lahór, where he arrived in the latter part of Ramazan[4].

He again committed the government of the Panjáb to Sa'íd Khán, and Rájah Bhagwán Dás, and Mán Singh. And with a view to making inquiry into the management of the grant-lands of that province, he appointed a Çadr to each Doáb[5]. These were Mullá Iláhdád of Amrohrah, Mullá Iláhdád Nabawí of Sulṭánpúr, Mullá Sháh Muḥammad of Sháhábád, and Mullá Sherí (P. 296) the poet. The first and fourth were remarkable for their good-heartedness, and the second and third for their bad-heartedness. And Mullá Sháh Muḥammad wrote a mandate to Shaikh Isḥáq Kákawí, a holy and God-fearing sage, with such pomp, that [you might apply to it the verse] "Our people obey God's preacher[6]!" And Shaikh Faizí he appointed Çadr of the Doáb[7]. And Ḥakím Humám, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ the Çadr of the metropolis, he sent to the other side of the Ganges.

When His Majesty arrived at Pánípat, Shahbáz Khán (who during the Emperor's absence had *more suo* turned the whole of the imperial dominions right away from Kaṛhí to the Panjáb into people's *jagírs*,

[1] Lak'hnau Lithograph has *Gantúr*.

[2] See above p. 301.

[3] The eighth month.

[4] The ninth month.

[5] The five rivers which enclose the Panjáb are, according to the spelling usual on our maps, the Indus, Jelum, Chenab, Ravee, and Garra. The four Doabs referred to are the Doab of Sindsagar between Indus and Jelum, Doab of Jetch between Jelum and Chenab, Doab of Rachna between Chenab and Ravee, and Doab of Baree between Ravee and Garra.

[6] Al Qur'án XLVI, 30.

[7] Probably that between the Satlaj and the Biyah.

and had given to any one any post that he wished for) arrived at that station with great magnificence, pomp, and circumstance to pay homage to the Emperor. When His Majesty enquired the cause of all this bravery, he replied: "If I had not thus won over the soldiery, they would have revolted with one consent. Now the empire is yours and the army is yours. You may give what you like to whom you will, and take away appointments and *jágírs* from whom you please" :—

"From whom you please take away,
To whom you please give."

On the twenty-fifth of Shavvál[1] the Emperor returned to Dihlí, and the younger prince, and the queens came out to meet him, and on the fifth of Zí-qa'dah[2] he made his *entrée* into the metropolis.

During this journey since I had been left behind on account of a bond of great friendship which I had contracted with one Mazharí, who was one of the divine objects[3], and on account of my freedom and *abandon* which lasted a whole year at Basáwar[4], and brought me in the course thereof into many strange and difficult circumstances, when I arrived at Fatḥpúr on the 6th of this month, I paid my respects to His Majesty. He asked Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl "How was he left behind on this journey?" He replied: "He is one of the pensioners, and is dead." And before this, when near Kábul he had directed the Çadr-i-Jahán to make out and present to him a list of all the people of piety (P. 297), who were attending with the army, or who were absent. When my name came up, the late Khwájah Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, author of the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*, with whom I had become acquainted about a year before that time, but who was as friendly as if I had known him a hundred years, in the great kindness and consideration which he showed to all his friends, and to me in particular, caused me to be put down and returned as sick. And certainly the devotion to created things

[1] The tenth month.
[2] The eleventh month.
[3] A play on the word *mazhar*.
[4] Lak'hnau ed. has *Pasháwar*.

and the desire of concupiscence, and fear, are much worse than any disease. During this period of absence he kept sending me letter upon letter, saying : "Since you have certainly been remiss in your coming, you must make as far as possible an effort to come to Láhor, or to Dihlí, or to Mit'hra, for it is a matter of public importance, and of attention to stipulated duty." But since one hour of that state was better to me than life eternal, how could I find an opportunity of occupying myself with thoughts of the future, or any other pain or loss, and so the verse[1] : "I commit my affairs to God" eventually became fulfilled :—

"Leave thy business with God, and be content,
For if He does not show mercy, it would make Him a pretender."

And at this time, every now and then, verses would occur to me in my sleep. And among them one night I composed the following in my sleep, and after waking I had a great deal of trouble and restlessness to recover it :—

"Our mirror is ready to receive the reflexion of thy face,
If thou doest not appear, the fault is not with us."

By the favour and grace of God, though seventeen years have elapsed since that time and this present time of writing, yet the delight of that taste has never left my heart, and every time I remember it I sigh : "Would that at that time I had become from head to foot stripped of the world, (P. 298) and had escaped the pain of separation :—

Happy is he that hath seen thy face,
And has surrendered his soul;
And is no more aware what is
Absence and what is presence."

But I had an experience, and such grace came to my heart, that if I spent ages in describing it, and thanking God for it, the tithe of a tenth part of my bounden duty would not be performed :—

[1] Al Qur'án XL, 47.

"In the ear of heart there sounded a murmur of love,
From the murmur I am full of love from head to foot.
It is but the truth, that in whole ages I should not escape,
From the obligation of giving thanks for one moment of love."

At the time that the Emperor went to Kábul, Bahádur son of Sa'íd Badakhshí had the *khutbah* read, and coins struck, in his name in the district of Tirhut, and took the title of Bahádur Sháh. They say that the following rhyme was composed for his signet (but God knows) :—

"Bahádur-ud-din Sulṭán
Son of Asfíd Shah Sulṭán.
His father was Sulṭán, and himself Sulṭan,
Bravo! Sulṭán bin Sulṭán."

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A'zam Khán :—

"A base person, when dignity, and gold, and silver come to him,
Requires of necessity a slap on the head.
Have you not heard what Plato said,
It is best for the ant[1] that its wings should not grow."

When Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí had become thoroughly bewildered and forlorn in the mountains of Sawálik[2] through the intervention of A'zam Khán he made confession of his fault, and received a *farmán* of pardon. He came and did homage at Fatḥpúr. Some days afterwards he left the *Darbár* at midnight, and mounting a litter was setting off on his return home, when an armed troop fell upon him outside the gates of the city, and cut him in pieces.

(P. 299). Niyábat[3] also, by the intervention of the imperial Begum, on the very day that Ma'çúm did homage, was admitted to

[1] In India immediately before the setting in of the rainy season the ants grow white wings, and fly about in swarms, and are eaten by the birds. Hence the Hindústání proverb: "When the ants are about to die, their wings come forth." The Spaniards have a similar proverb (see Don Quixote), "Por su mal nacieron alas à la hormiga."

[2] See p. 298.

[3] See p. 297.

His Majesty's presence. The Emperor, to please his uncle Shiháb-ud-din Aḥmad Khán, governor of Málwah, spared his life for some time and sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hor. There he was confined, and performed many exploits, which we cannot now relate. In conjunction with his fellow-prisoners of that plaee he attempted a great outbreak. Eventually in the year nine hundred and ninety-seven the Emperor sent a *farmán*, and had him executed.

At this time Ḥájí Begum,[1] who was a second mother to the Emperor, and attended on the tomb of the late Emperor,[2] a very pillar of holiness, and purity, and virtue, and good works, hastened to the world of eternity. And the greatest distress fell upon the guardians of the tomb, and the dwellers in that holy place.

At this time the Emperor sent Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, to bring Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dín of Jalésar, who was a *majzúb*,[3] and intoxicated[4] with the Divine Love. When Quṭb-ud-dín came, the Emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and philosophers, and great law-authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaikh exclaimed, "Let us make a peat fire, and in the presence of His Majesty we will pass through it, and whichever gets safely through it, will prove thereby the truth of his religion." The fire was made. The Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him, "Come on, in the name of God!" But none of the priests had the courage to go. Soon after the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bakkar, together with other *faqírs*, as the Emperor was jealous of his triumph. There he died.

A large number of Shaikhs and Faqírs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahár, where they were exchanged for horses.

About the same time the Emperor captured a sect of Shaikhs, who called themselves 'Disciples,' but were generally known as 'Iláhís.' They used to utter all sorts of foul lies and nonsense. His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities. They replied, "Repentance is our maid-servant." And so they had invented

[1] She was daughter of the brother of Humáyún's mother.

[2] This is the meaning of *Jannat-ástání* quoted by Blochm. p. 465, and so also apparently of our expression *Jannat-áshyání*.

[3] De Sacey, *Pendnameh* LV, *n. f.*

[4] *Kharábí* is the same as *mast*.

similar names for the laws and religious commands of the Islám, and for the Fast. At His Majesty's command they were sent to Bakkar and Qandahár, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts.

(P. 300.) His Majesty sent for the grandsons of Shaikh Adhan, who were some of the great Shaikhs of Jounpúr, with their wives and families, and sent than to Ajmír, and gave them a fixed provision. One, two, or three of them died, and some of them are living now in poverty.

Shaikh Ḥusain, grandson of His Reverence Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín (God sanctify his tomb!) he banished to Bakkar, because, when he had been to Makkah and come back again, he did not make obeisance in the manner approved by the Emperor, but came in his utter unworldliness to pay his homage to His Majesty in the old fashioned manner, who understood this neglect to be meant as a sign of disloyalty. In the year one thousand and two Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, on the occasion of the Emperor's sending for Iltimás Qází Fatḥpúrí, and Shaikh Kamál Biyábání, from Bakkar, mentioned the name of Shaikh Ḥusain also. So His Majesty sent for them all, and since they performed the *Zamínbos* the Emperor considered that he had gained all that he required, and gave orders for their release. But Kamál Biyábání, whose being found in fetters[1] in the prison of Bakkar they attributed to the Khán Khánán, the Emperor sent to Rintamb'hor. And to Shaikh Ḥusain he again ordered a pension in Bakkar, and appointed him to that same place, as shall be narrated further on, if God (He is exalted!) will.

On the 9th of the month Muḥarram[2] in the year nine hundred and ninety (990) A'zam Khán came from Bengál. And one evening in course of conversation the Emperor said to him, "We have found out proofs for part of the reality of metempsychosis, Abu-l-Fazl shall convince you of it!' And he accepted it all. The Emperor then appointed some Amírs who were absent from the army of Kábul to accompany him, and sent him [back to Bengál] to repulse Muçúm Kábulí.

[1] Vol. III, pp. 87-88 Text. *Qalláb* is given there as his *takhalluç*.

[2] The first month.

On the 15th of the month Çafar[1] of this year the New Year came round again, and the twenty-seventh year of the Reign commenced :—

> " When the Pen of the Worker of Spring came into action,
> It made the Pearl of the Equinox into a paint-palate at the time of Aries." [2]

(P. 301.) And the Emperor commanded both the private and the public audience chamber to be deccorated with all sorts of precious materials. And they prepared costly articles of various colours, and European curtains, and they made most incomparable paintings, and erected lofty pavilions. And they decorated the bazaar at Ágrah and at Fathpúr in a similar manner, and kept high festival for eighteen whole days. And the Emperor sent for all sorts of troops of singers and musicians both Hindú and Persian, and dancers, both men and women, by thousands of thousands : and each day one of the renowned Amírs came and was honoured with his society, and received from him a considerable present, and other proofs of hospitality.

And since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact, that the 1000 years since the time of the mission of the Prophet (peace be upon him !), which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islám, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of those secret designs, which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulamá (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islám, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief [in their stead].

The first command that he issued was this : that the " Era of the Thousand " should be stamped on the coins, and that a *Táríkhí Alfí*,[3] commencing with the Death of the Prophet, should be written. And many other wonderful and strange innovations, by way of

[1] The second month.

[2] *I e.* The pale Winter's sun, like a colourless pearl, becomes the source of Spring colours.

[3] A history of a thousand years.

politic and wise expedients, did he devise. For one thing he decreed that *Sijdah*,[1] under the name of *Zamín-bos*,[2] ought to be offered to kings. Another was that wine might be drunk, if for the healing of the body[3] by the advice of the physicians. But, lest confusion and wickedness should become more common on this account, he laid down severe punishments on excessive drinking, carousals, and disorderly conduct. And in order to keep the matter within due bounds he set up a wine-shop near the palace, under the charge of the Porter's wife who belonged by birth to the class of (P. 302) wine-sellers, and appointed a fixed tariff. Persons who wished to purchase wine, as a remedy for sickness, could do so by having their name, and that of their father and grandfather, written down by the clerk. Some by deceit had false names written down, and so obtained wine—for who could accurately enquire into such a matter? And [in point of fact] a shop for the benefit of drunkards was opened. They say, moreover, that swine-flesh formed a component part of that wine, but God knows! In spite of all precautions confusion and wickedness raised its head, and, however many persons were every day punished, no practical result was effected. And there was another matter, which comes within the meaning of [the saying], "Bend, but do not break in pieces,"[4] *viz.* that of the prostitutes of the imperial dominions, who had gathered together in the Capital in such swarms as to defy counting or numbering. These he made to live outside the city, and called the place *Shaitánpárah*.[5] And he appointed a keeper, and a deputy, and a secretary for this quarter, so that any one who wished to associate with these people, or take them to his house, provided he first had his name and condition written down, might with the connivance of the imperial officers have connection with any of them that he pleased. But he did not permit any man to take dancing-girls to his house at night, without con-

[1] Prostration, in which the toes, knees, hands and forehead touch the ground.

[2] Ground-kissing.

[3] Comp. I Tim v. 23.

[4] A saying, the meaning of which is much disputed, but which seems to imply 'temper severity with kindness,' comp. Isaiah xli. 3. See further in Vuller's *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*.

[5] Devilsville.

forming to these conditions, in order that he might keep the matter under proper control. But if any one wished to have a virgin, if the petitioner was a well-known courtier, he sent a petition by the Deputy, and obtained permission from Court. Nevertheless, in spite of the rule, all the libertines carried on these affairs under assumed names, and so drunkenness and debauchery led to many acts of bloodshed, and however many were brought to punishment, another troop [of delinquents] would strut arrogantly past the Inspector of that department:—

> "Her endless beauty, as often as it slays a lover,
> Another troop in love makes its appearance from the unseen."

And a number of well-known prostitutes he called privately before him, and enquired (P. 103) who had seduced them. And after learning their names, several important Amírs were severely reprimanded and punished, and imprisoned for a considerable time. Among them one mentioned the name of Rája Bír Bir, who had become a disciple of His Majesty's religion, and had made such progress in the four degrees, that he had become conspicuous as endowed with the essentials of the Four Virtues,[1] and scarcely ever left the society of his own daughters. At the time he happened to be in the parganna of Karrah in his own jágír. When news of this reached the veil of his door, he wished to become a Jogí.[2] But on the Emperor's sending for him in reassuring terms he came to the Court.

Another thing was the prohibition to eat beef. The origin of this embargo was this, that from his tender years onwards the Emperor had been much in company with rascally Hindús, and thence a reverence for the cow (which in their opinion is the cause of the stability of the world) became firmly fixed in his mind. Moreover he had introduced a whole host of the daughters of eminent Hindú Rájas into his *ḥaram*, and they had influenced his mind against the eating of beef and garlic and onions, and association with people who wore beards—and such things he then avoided and still does avoid. And

[1] *Viz. ḥikmat* wisdom (prudenoe) *shujá'at* courage (fortitude), *'iffat* chastity (temperance), and *'adálat* justice. Blochm. p. 193, *n.*

[2] See p. 95.

these customs and heretical practices he introduced *pur et simple* into his assemblies, and still retains them. And in order to gain their love and goodwill and that of their castes, he abstained entirely from everything which was a natural abhorrence to these people, and looked on it as a mark of special devotion to himself if men shaved off their beards—so that this became a common practice. And certain pandering pimps brought forward proofs in favour of shaving the beard. They affirmed that the beard drew its nourishment from the testicles, and that since for this reason they never saw any eunuch with a beard, what could be the virtue and distinction of preserving it! Moreover that ascetics of olden time had looked upon letting the beard grow, as a kind of mortification, because it exposed them to reproach, but that, since the foolish Lawyers looked now on the cutting of the beard, not the letting it grow, as a disgrace, it was now a courting of the reproach of the world, and a mortification to cut it and (P. 304) not to let it grow. But if any one looks at this argument from an unbiased point of view, he will see that it tends to the opposite conclusion. Unprincipled and scheming Muftís quoted also an unknown tradition.[1] *Kamá yaf'alu ba'ḍ-ul-quzát*, they interpreted as meaning that some of the Qázís of 'Irák were in the habit of shaving their beards, whereas the true reading is *Kamá yaf'alu ba'ḍ-ul-'uçát* 'as some obstinate sinners do.' One day Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, at the beginning of my attendance at Court, observed that my beard was a little shorter than it was the custom to wear it. He said: "A *short* beard does not become you." I replied: "It is the barber's *short*-coming not mine." He said: "Well don't do it again, for it is neither proper nor becoming." Some time after this he himself becoming one of the Shí'ahs and religious mendicants, or rather of the Hindús, and shaving his head, became so utterly smooth-faced, as to be the envy of the handsome beardless youths:—

"He who vexes his brother about a fault,
Dies not until God has tried him in that very thing."

[1] In which it was stated that "some Qazís" of Persia had shaved their beards.

And beating the gong after the manner of the Christians and exhibition of the Form of One Person of the Trinity,[1] and of *Cunabula* which is their way of keeping Festival,[2] and other such like childish games became of daily occurrence: and '*Unbelief became common*' they found to give the date.[3] Ten or twelve years later things had come to such a pass, that abandoned wretches, such as Mírzá Jání, Governor of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confession to the following effect—this is the form—'I who am so and so, son of so and so, do voluntarily, and with sincere predilection and inclination, utterly and entirely renounce and repudiate the religion of Islám, which I have seen and heard of my fathers, and do embrace the "Divine Religion" of Akbar Sháh, and do accept the four grades of entire devotion, *viz.*, sacrifice of Property, Life, Honour, and Religion?' And these lines—than which there could be no better passport to damnation—were (P. 305) handed over to the *Mujtahid*[4] of the new religion, and became the source of confidence and promotion. Well nigh did the heavens burst asunder thereat, and the earth gape, and the hills crumble!

And in contempt of Islám ceasing to consider swine and dogs as unclean, he kept them in the *ḥaram* and under the fort, and regarded the going to look at them every morning as a religious service. And the Hindús who are believers in Transmigration, persuaded him, that the boar[5] is one of the ten forms, which the Divinity (praise to Him, glorious is his Majesty!) assumed in coming down:—

"His glory is more exalted than they say."

And he quoted the saying of some of the sages, that a dog has ten virtues, and that if a man were possessed of but one of them he would be a saint, in support of this. And some of the courtiers who were

[1] Meaning the Crucifix.

[2] See Blochmann in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May 1870.

[3] 20 + 80 + 200 + 300 + 11 + 70 + 204 = 985, which is five too little.

[4] Abu-l Fazl. (Blochmann, p. 194.)

[5] Sanscrit *varáha avatára*.

most entertaining in all sorts of music,[1] and in the realm of poetry became a very proverb, by taking dogs to table with them, and eating with them. And some heretic poets, of 'Iráq and Hind, so far from objecting to this, followed their example, and even made a boast of it and vied with them, taking the dog's tongues into their mouths :—

"Say to the Mír, under thy skin thou hast a dog, as well as a carcase.
A dog runs about in front of his door, make him not thy messmate."

Another thing was this. The ordinance of washing the whole body after an emission of semen, was considered as altogether unworthy of observance. And he brought forward the following argument. The sperma genitale is the very essence of man, for the semen is the origin of the existence of the good and the pure. What sense then could there be in ceremonial ablution being unnecessary after evacuation of parva and magna, while the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate it. It would be more fit [he argued] that people should perform the ablution first, and then have connection.

Similarly [he argued] that there could be no sense in offering food,[2] which is material, to the spirit of a dead person, since he certainly could not experience any benefit from it : much better, therefore, would it be, on the day of any one's birth to make that a high feast day. And this he named (P. 306) *Ásh-i ḥayát* 'Food of life.'

The flesh of the wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the courage, which these two animals possess, would be transmitted to any one who fed on such meat.

It was forbidden to marry one's cousin or near relation, because in such cases the sexual appetite is but small. Boys were not to marry before the age of sixteen, nor girls before fourteen, because the offspring of early marriages is weakly.

[1] *Vádí* is the Sanscrit *Vádya* 'music,' comp. Text. p. 42, l. 5. It does not mean 'department' as Blochmann *Aín-i Akbarí*, p. 194 paraphrases it.

[2] Compare p. 50, note 6.

The wearing of gold and silk dresses [at prayer-time] was made obligatory. One day I saw the Muftí of the imperial dominions clothed in a garment of unmixed silk. I enquired: "Perhaps a tradition about this matter has come to your notice?" He said, "Yes, in any city where silk is used, it is allowable to wear silken garments." I replied: "One ought to get a sight of that tradition, for one cannot swallow a mere decree of the Emperor." He said: "I don't blame you either. But God knows!"

The prayers of the Islám, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, such as the son of Mullá Mubárik, a worthy disciple of Shaîkh Abu-l-Fazl, wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.*, nine hundred and sixty-three. The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persians kings, and as given in the *Niçáb-uç-çibyán*.[1] Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the Feasts of the Musalmáns and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people used to go to it. The new era was called the *Tárikh-i-Iláhí*.[2] On copper coins and gold *muhurs* the era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muḥammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked on as a crime; and Muhammadan law, and the exegesis of the Qurán (P. 337), and the tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philolosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, *viz.*, ث ع ح ص ض, and ظ were avoided. Thus for عبدالله *'Abd-ulláh* people wrote ابدلله *Abd-úllah*;

[1] A vocabulary in rhyme by Abú Naçr of Faráh a town in Sijistán. *Blochm.* p. 41, *note* 2.

[2] Divine era.

and for احدي *Aḥadí* they wrote اهدي *Ahadí* &c. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Sháhnámah,[1] which Firdúsí of Ṭús gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at Court :—

> " Through the eating of the flesh[4] of camels and lizards
> The Arabs have made such progress,
> That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
> Fie upon Fate ! Fie upon Fate ! "

And so any verse which involved something of dubious tendency favouring his sect he heard gladly from the doctors, and considered it a great point in his favour, such as the verse from the Sajahrák (?) in which the loss of the Prophet's teeth in an action against infidels is alluded to.

In the same way every command and doctrine of the Islám, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islám with reason, the doctrines of *Rúyat*, *Taklíf*, and *Takwín*,[2] the details of the day of resurrection and judgment, all were doubted and ridiculed. And if any one did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well-known how little chance a man has, who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands; for equality of condition is a *sine quâ non* in arguing :—

> " A man whom you cannot convince by the Qur'án and the Tradition,
> Can only be replied to by not replying to him."

Many families plunged into these discussions, but perhaps 'discussions' is not the correct name ; we should call them 'meetings for arrogance and defamation.' People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many rarities. Thus Laṭíf (P. 308)

[1] It occurs in the letter of the Persian general Rastam to the Arabian general Sa'd. See ed. Macan IV, p. 2066,

[2] On the effect of food upon a race see Herodotus *in fin.*

[3] See *Blochm.* p. 196 *notes*.

Khwájah, who came of a noble family in Turkistán, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizí's *Shamá'il*,[1] and asked how in the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an *idol*. Other remarks were passed on the "straying camel."[2] Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet in the beginning of his career plundered the caravans of the Quraish; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband, if the Prophet (peace be upon him!) thought her agreeable. And many other things which it would take too long to recount:—

"The woes caused by thy tresses, and cheek, to explain
Would require a long night, and moon-light."

At night, when there were social assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'the Forty[3],' and every one might say or ask what he liked. If any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said: "You had better ask the Mullás about it, as we only settle things which appeal to man's reason." But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Companions of the Prophet (God be merciful to them!), when the historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalífahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of the Çiffín &c. would that I were deaf! The Shí'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnís were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof of his own infallibility, entirely forgetting the proverb that, a man may be hoisted with his own petard.[4] And so those who were before in favour now fell out of favour, and those who were before out of favour came into favour, those who had been near, became afar, and those who had been afar became near. Praise

[1] A collection of Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet.

[2] Referring to the charge of adultery against *A'ishah*, the Prophet's favourite wife. *Al Qurán* XXIV.

[3] The 40 *Abdál*. See *Blochm.* p. 197 *note*.

[4] *Lit.* 'Every one who rejects is rejected.'

be to Him ! who ruleth absolutely in his kingdom as it pleaseth him. And the common people with as little sense as brute beasts repeated continually nothing but "*Alláh Akbar.*" This caused great commotion. Mullá Sherí (P. 309) at this time composed a *qiṭ'ah* of ten verses, of which the following are some :—

"Until in each age there arise some overwhelming calamity,
Disturbance in the street of events will be a householder.
By the punishment of the debt-exacting sword on heretics
The obligation of the head will be paid by the bond of the neck.
The collar of the lying philosopher will be torn,
And devotion clothed in rags will have its piety established.
It is utter confusion of brain, if a fool take into his head,
That love of the Prophet can ever be banished from mankind.
I cannot help smiling at that couplet, which so glibly
Will be recited at the tables of the rich, caught up by the beggar :—
The king this year has laid claim to be a Prophet,
After the lapse of a year, please God, he will become God !"

At the new year's feasts His Majesty inveigled many of the Ullamá and the pious, nay even the Qázís and Muftís of the realm into the ravine of toast-drinking :—

"Love for thee brings news from the world of madness,
It brings pious people to wine-bibbing.
Thy memory, O Love, what a masterly potion it is,
For it makes us forget all that we have learnt."

At last the Mujtahids [of the Divine Faith], especially [Faizí, who called himself] the king of poets, called out : "Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers !" On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharaf-ush-sharaf*, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty) the grandees (P. 310) were promoted, or received new *jágírs*, or horses or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion to the presents they brought.

At this place Sháham Khán Jaláír arrived from Bengál, and Rájah Bhagwán Dás from Láhor.

During the absence of A'zam Khán and the other Amírs, who had come to the metropolis from Ḥájípúr, one Khabísah[1] by name, a servant of Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí, together with Tarkhán Díwánah, and Sarkh Badakhshí, raised a rebellion in Bihár. And Muḥammad Çádiq Khán, together with Muḥibb 'Alí Khán defeated them in an engagement, and slew Khabísah.

In this year the prince Sulṭán Salím[2] went to Ajmír to meet Gulbadan Begum, and Salímah Sulṭán Begum, who had returned from the pilgrimage. On this occasion they paid a gratuitous visit to the shrine of the saint Mu'in-ud-dín, and left their gifts there.

At this time Muḥammad Çádiq Khán came from Bihár, and was quickly ordered off again, in conjunction with A'zam Khán, to repulse Ma'çúm Kábulí. And Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí, and other Amírs, who had not gone in the army to Kábul, were appointed to assist Çádiq Khán.

At this time Sháh Abu Turáb, and I'tímád Khán Gujrátí, who had been together on a journey to Hijáz, returned, and brought with them a stone of very great weight, which required a very strong-bodied elephant to lift it. A foot-print was clearly to be seen on it, and Sháh Abu Turáb declared it to be the impression of the foot of the Prophet (God bless him and his family and give them peace !) :—

> "On the tablet at the head of our grave,
> We have engraved thy image.
> Until the day of the resurrection
> Our head and thy foot are together."

The Emperor went a distance of four *cosses* to meet it, and commanded the Amírs to carry it by turns (P 311) a few steps, and in this manner they brought it to the city.

[1] See *Bloehm*, p. 356 *note*.

[2] Who succeeded his father with the title of *Jahángír*.

On the nineteenth of the month Sha'bán[1] the weighing of the eldest prince took place.

In this year, or the year after, Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí, and Mukhdúm-ul-mulk, who had received the decree of eternal banishment,[2] hearing the news of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím's insurrections, came from Makkah to Gujrát, and set their hearts on their former positions of authority, forgetful of the saying, 'The fleeting does not return' :—

"The world is wide, O my child,
Thou art our corner, our corner.
Like the locust from the field of the king,
Thou art our ear of corn, our ear."

Makhdúm-ul-mulk died at Aḥmadábád, and in the year nine hundred and ninety Qází 'Alí was sent from Fatḥpúr to ascertain what property he had left.[3] When he came to Láhor, he found such vast treasures as defied the key of conjecture to open their lock. Several ingots of gold were discovered in his sepulchre, where he had caused them to be buried as corpses. And the wealth which lay open to the eye of the world was such as none but the Creator (glorious is His Majesty!) could ascertain. All these ingots of gold, together with his books, which were as precious to him as ingots, were placed in the public treasury. His sons after being some time on the rack of distress fell at last into the most abject poverty.

Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí came to Fatḥpúr, and having made use of some rude language, the Emperor was unable to restrain his passion, and struck him in the face. He said: "Why don't you strike with a knife?" Then with a view to make him settle his account about the 7,000 rupees, which the Emperor had given him when he set off for Makkah, he was handed over as prisoner to Rájah Todar Mal, and for some time, like a defaulting tax-gatherer, they imprisoned him in the counting-house of the office; and one night a mob strangled him, and he went to God. And the next day, until after-

[1] The eighth month.

[2] That is, were about to die.

[3] For this habit of seizing a master's property on his death, see *Elphinstone*, p. 673.

noon prayer, the minarets resounded with nothing but this : "Verily in this man ye have a warning (P. 312) ye that have eyes to see" This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-two. And "A Shaikh like a prophet,"[1] was found to give the date, in accordance with the verse :—

"Although they used to say, The Shaikh is like the Prophet,
It is not *the* Prophet, our Shaikh is like *a* Prophet."

"Heaven's nature is to throw down heads,
You must not withdraw your head from what is written.
She has never nurtured any, that she has not killed,
For she is tender in love, and stern in hatred."

In this year that crucible of austerity, and devotion, that impersonation of piety and religious fervour, that spiritnal effigy, and mirror of divine grace, that paragon of people of rapture and ecstasy Shaikh Jalál of T'hánésar (God rest his spirit !) became an inhabitant of the garden of Paradise : and "The Shaikh of Saints"[2] was found to give the date.

In the same year Áçaf Khán, *Mír Bakhshí Sání*, who had the title of Mírzá Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Alí, gave up his place to his own nephew Mírzá Ja'far (who afterwards obtained the title of Áçaf Khán), and then chose the last journey. And "May God be his help !" was found to give the date.

And at this time His Majesty deposed Ḥájí Ibráhím of Sarhind, as has been narrated, from the Çadrate of Gujrát. And when he heard that he had received many bribes, and that he kept many women, and that he desired to escape to the Dak'hin, he had him seized. For some time he entrusted him to Ḥakím 'Ain ul-mulk, but after a time he sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hor. Till at last having cast him from the pinnacle of exaltation, to the abyss of misery, he fulfilled every dream of vengeance.

In this year Shaikh Mubárik of Nágor said in the presence of the Emperor to Bír Bar : "Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are in ours; hence it is impossible to trust either."

[1] 300 + 610 + 20 + 50 + 12 = 992.

[2] 300 + 10 + 600 + 31 + 1 + 6 + 30 + 11 = 989.

Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty why, since a thousand years from the Hijrah were passed, he did not bring forward, like Sháh Ismá'íl the First, some convincing proof. But His Majesty was at last convinced, that (P. 313) confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time, and good counsel, and did not require the sword. And indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims, and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would easily have got most of his courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets :—

"I see in 990 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdí and that of Antichrist;
Either politics or religion must change,
I clearly see the hidden secret."

At a council held for the renovating of the religion of the empire Rájah Bhagwán Dás said: "I would willingly believe that Hindús and Musalmáns have each a bad religion, but only tell us what the new sect is, and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe." His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Rájah. But the alteration of the decisions of our glorious Faith was continued. And "The innovation of heresy"[1] was found to give the date.

At this time His Majesty sent Qází Jalál Multání, together with Khwájagí Fatḥ-ulláh *bakhshí*, who was a great opponent of the vile Shi'ah sect, to the Dak'hin. The cause of his banishment was this, that he had forged in a *farmán* a draught for five *lacs* of *tankahs*, which he had drawn from the treasary for his own use. The Emperor thought it likely, that the rulers of that part, who were exceedingly bigoted in that heresy, would put Qází to death with various tortures, and ignominy. But they, having heard of his constancy in the faith of the Islám, and his support of the word of God against liars, secretly believing in him considered his arrival as a great gain. Besides giving him the districts granted to him as *madad-i-ma'ásh* they showed him every attention, and reckoned the very dust of his feet as collyrium. Thus through his innate good luck he became at the end of his life so honoured and respected, that however much he asked to be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, they could

[1] 1 + 8 + 4 + 1 + 500 + 2 + 4 + 70 + 400 = 990.

not make up their minds to part with him. (P. 314) But at last he gained this felicity, and having arrived at Baṭḥá wa Yathrab (may God magnify them both!) in glory and dignity, he obtained eternal acceptance, and there passed away from this old dust-bin:—

"A life, about which thou hast been informed beforehand,
From it seek not a happiness, which is eternal.
A life, into which death can find an entrance,
Say to it, Be long, or short, as you please."

And in his place the Emperor appointed, as *Qázi-l-quzát*, Qází 'Abd-us-samí' the Transoxonian of Miyánkál,[1] of whom the poet Qásim Khán Moují might have composed the verse:—

"An elder from an honoured tribe,
With a beard, like a white rose, a yard long."

He used to play chess for a wager, and to give away a great deal. His cup-draining was notoriously a congenital habit, and in his sect bribery and corruption were considered as a duty for the moment, and the making profit on bonds for debt, and on signing judicial decrees, as a positive command. But verily since there was no reference to faith or religion left, even this amount was something towards the removal of opprobrium.

During those days also the public prayers, and the *azán*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like *Aḥmad*, *Muḥammad*, *Muçtafa* &c. became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem, till after some time those courtiers, who had such names, changed them; and such names as *Yár Muḥammad*, *Muḥammad Khán*, were altered to *Raḥmat*. To call such miserable wretches by the name of our blessed prophet would indeed be wrong, and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names, but it was even necessary to do so, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.' This destructive fire broke out first in Ágrah (P. 315), and burnt down house and home of both great and small, and eventually the fire extended to the graves[2] of those who kindled it (may God abandon them!)—

[1] A hilly tract between Samarqand aud Bukhárá. *Blochm.* p. 545 n.

[2] That is they went to hell.

"Thou, O man, fond of words,
Who for some worthless handfuls
Desertest the Faith of God,
In the confidence of thine own sophistry,
What weakness hast those seen in the Tradition,
That thou wentest towards the irreligious?
What fault didst thou find in the Qur'án,
That thou followest the present world?"

In Rabi'-us-sání[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety the Sayyid Mír Fatḥ-ulláh of Shíráz, who in the regions of Theology, Mathematics, and Physics[2] and in all branches of science both logical and and traditional, and in talismans, and incantations, and discovering treasures, was without his equal in that age, in obedience to a *farmán* requiring his presence, left 'Ádil Khán of the Dak'hin, and came to Fatḥpúr. The Khán Khánán, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ in accordance with the Emperor's command went out to meet him, and brought him to the imperial presence. He was honoured with the post of *Çadr*, whose only duty was erasure, in order that he might confiscate the lands of the poor, not give them. When the Emperor heard that he had been an immediate pupil of Mír Ghiyás-ud-dín Mançúr of Shíráz, who had not been over strict in religious matters, he thought that Fatḥ-ulláh would be only too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fatḥ-ulláh was such a staunch Shí'ah, and at the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility, that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shí'ism. Even in the State hall he said with the greatest composure his Shí'ah prayers, a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but he connived at his practices (P. 316), because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge.

He married him to the younger daughter of Muzaffar Khán, and treating him with regal promp associated him in the *vazír*-ship with Rájah Todar Mal. And he, entering boldly into negotiations with the Rájah, came to an agreement with him. He became devoted to

[1] The fourth month

[2] Aristotle's three-fold division of science, *θεολογική*, *μαθήματικη*, *φυσική*.

teaching the children of the Amírs, and every day would go to the houses of the courtiers, and would act the elementary teacher, first of all to the servant of Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, and at another time to the son of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and to other children of Amírs of seven or eight years of age, and even younger, and taught them to point, and to draw straight lines and curves, and even taught them the Alphabet :—

"In the hands of children new to instruction
Do not place a tablet of astronomical calculations.
A horse, which is of Arab breed,
Do not mark with a Grecian brand."[1]

Putting a gun on his shoulder and a belt of ammunition round his waist, like a Runner, he used to accompany the Emperor at his stirrup in the chase, and all the glory of the knowledge, which he had not already lost, he utterly trampled in the dust. But in spite of all this want of dignity, and vileness, and baseness, he practised such heroism in bluff honesty, that no Rastam could have surpassed. The date of his arrival is given by the hemistich :—

"Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh Imám of saints."[2]

One night the Emperor, in Fatḥ-ulláh's presence, said to Bír Bar, "I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could in the space of a moment leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm!" So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. "Why," said His Majesty, lifting up one foot (P. 317), "it is really impossible for me to lift up the other. What silly stories men will believe!" And that wretch [Bír Bar] and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten, —said "Yea, Your Majesty is right," and chirped in confirmation. But Fatḥ-ulláh—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something: for he was a newcomer—looked straight before him, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear.

[1] That is, what a pity that a man of such attainments should spend his time n teaching children.

[2] 300 + 80 + 400 + 8 + 31 + 35 + 41 + 41 + 7 + 30 + 11 = 990.

About this time Mullá Aḥmad of Tat'hah, who was a bigoted Shíah, and had made himself a *ḥakím* by pure affrontery, came from the Dak'hin and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, had been very scrupulous orthodox believers, and this wretch used to shower anathemas on those unfortunate persons. But, in accordance with the saying of the Prophet (Peace be upon him!) 'God curses him, who curses his father,' his cursing recoiled on his own head. When, in the time of Sháh Tahmásp, he associated in 'Iráq with some old Tabará'ís, he became orthodox. Then he deserted them. When Sháh Ismá'íl the second, becoming an excessive Sunní in opposition to the opinions held by his father, proceeded to kill and ill-treat the Shí'ahs, Mullá Aḥmad in the company of Mírzá Makhdúm (who was a *Sharíf*, and a zealous Sunní, and wrote the *Kitáb-un-náqiz* in blame of the Shí'ah, which contains the date of its composition), went to Makkah. Thence he proceeded to the Dak'hin, and afterwards to Hindústán, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines, and invite converts to the Shí'ah persuasion: but in a short time he met the penalty of his evil deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faizí, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him, when I saw him one day in the *bázár*, where some 'Iráqís took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this he addressed me and said: "I see the mark of a Shí'ah stamped on your forehead." (P. 318) I replied promptly: "Just as much as I see Sunní stamped on yours!" The friends, who were present, all laughed, and were pleased. I shall, if God (He is exalted!) will, notice the close of his life in its proper place.

The year 1,000 of the Hijrah era, which is in general use, being now on the point of completion, the Emperor ordered a history of all the kings of the Islám to be written, which should in reality supercede all other histories, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled *Alfí*. He further ordered the word *rihlat*[1] to be substituted for *ḥijrah*[2] in the different

[1] Marching.

[2] Flight.

dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the death of the last of the Prophets (the blessing of God be upon him, and may He give him peace!) up to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world.

He assigned the first year to Naqíb Khán, the second to Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh, and so on to Ḥakím Humám, Ḥakím 'Alí, Ḥájí Ibráhím Sarhindí (who had just then arrived from Gujrát) Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, and myself. And after that another seven years, and in this way the distribution of 35 years was provided for.

During the time that I was compiling the events of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of the second true Khalífah (may God be propitious to him!) I had just finished the account of the foundation of Kúfah, and the building and destruction of Qaçr-ul-imárat, which was narrated in detail together with the cause of its destruction, and the marriage of Amm Kulsún, daughter of the Amír-ul-muminín 'Alí (God be propitious to them both!), as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Naçíbín, and the scorpions big as cocks, which were made use of to effect its capture, when one night Áçaf Khán Sális, who was the same as Mírzá Ja'far, thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts. Notwithstanding this, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakhshí confirmed my assertions shortly afterwards. When I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, (P. 319) and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the *Rauzat-ul-Aḥbáb* and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Naqíb Khán to verify the accuracy of the statement, which by God's grace, being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention.

At the recommendation of Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullá Aḥmad of Tat'hah, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices, a fact which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changíz Khán, when Mírzá Fúlád one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mullá Aḥmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Láhor, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. He was put to death in retaliation.

The remainder of the work was done by Áçaf Khán up to the year nine hundred and ninety-seven. In the year one thousand I was ordered to proceed to Láhore, to revise the composition, compare it with other histories, and arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I composed the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Áçaf Khán.

Among the remarkable events of this year is the translation of the *Mahábhárata*, which is the most famous of the Hindú books, and contains all sorts of stories, and moral reflections, and advice, and matters relating to conduct and manners, and religion and science, and accounts of their sects, and mode of worship, under the form of a history of the wars of the tribes of Kurus and Páṇḍus, who were rulers in Hind, according to some more than 4,000 years ago, and according to the common account more than 80,000. And clearly this makes it before the time of Adam (P. 320): Peace be upon him! And the Hindú unbelievers consider it a great religious merit to read and to copy it. And they keep it hid from Musalmáns.

The following considerations disposed the Emperor to the work. When he had had the Shahnámah, and the story of Amír Ḥamzah, in seventeen volumes transcribed in fifteen years, and had spent much gold in illuminating it, he also heard the story of Abú Muslim, and the Jámi'-ul-ḥikáyát, repeated, and it suddenly came into his mind that most of these books were nothing but poetry and fiction; but that, since they were first related in a lucky hour, and when their star was in the act of passing over the sky, they ohtained great fame. But now he ordered those Hindú books, which holy and staid sages had written, and were all clear and convincing proofs, and which were the very pivot on which all their religion, and faith, and holiness turned, to be translated from the Indian into the Persian language, and thought to himself, "Why should I not have them done in my name? For they are by no means trite, but quite fresh, and they will produce all kinds of fruits of felicity both temporal and spiritual, and will be the cause of circumstance and pomp, and will ensure an abundance of children and wealth, as is written in the preface of these books." Acccordingly he became

much interested in the work, and having assembled some learned Hindús, he gave then directions to write an explanation of the *Mahábhárata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqíb Khán, so that the Khán might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. On the third night the Emperor sent for me, and desired me to translate the Mahábhárata, in conjunction with Naqíb Khán. The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed. Two parts were written. Such discussion as one never heard! as, Shall I eat forbidden things? Shall I eat turnips? But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass.

After this Mullá Sherí and Naqíb Khán together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultán Hájí of Thánessar by himself. (P. 321) Shaikh Faizí was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Ḥájí aforesaid revised these two sections, and as for the omissions which had taken place in his first edition, those defects he put right, and comparing it word for word with the original, one hundred sheets were written out closely, and the work was brought to such a point of perfection that not a fly-mark of the original was omitted. Eventually for some reason or other he was ordered into banishment, and sent to Bakkar, and now he resides at his own city. Most of the scholars, who were engaged in this work, have now been gathered to the Kurus and Paṇḍus, and to those who still remain may God (He is exalted!) grant deliverance, and grace to repent, and may He hear the excuse of: "Whoso after he hath believed in God denies Him, if he were forced to it and if his heart remains steadfast in the faith [shall be guiltless]".[1] "Verily He is the merciful Pardoner."[2]

The translation was called the *Rázm-námah*, and when fairly

[1] Al Qur'án XVI, 108.

[2] Al Qur'án II, 35 &c.

engrossed, and embellished with pictures, the Amírs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, in opposition to the commentary on the *Kursí*[1] verse, which he had formerly composed, now wrote for it a *Khutbah* extending to two sheets—we flee to God for refuge from infidelities and unprofitable words!

The author (may God forgive him!) begs leave here to request, that the reader will excuse him if in the account of the events of this year (which have been introduced as a digression, written down by his rapid pen in an abridged form) he has not observed a strictly chronological order, nor preserved the exact sequence of events.

When the twenty-eighth year day from the accession was completed, the new year's day of the twenty-ninth, corresponding to the twenty-fifth of the month Çafar[2] of the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991), was celebrated, and according to the old custom, stalls in the fancy Bázár were distributed to the different Amírs, and arranged by them, and all sorts of festivities and amusements were the order of the day. And Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh in his stall exhibited all sorts of skill, such as the dragging about of weights, and other strange contrivances.

At this time His Majesty promulgated some of his new-fangled decrees. The killing of animals on the first day of the week was strictly prohibited, (P. 322) because this day is sacred to the Sun, also during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardín; the whole of the month of Ábán (the the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindús. This order was extended over the whole realm and punishment was inflicted on every one, who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts the Emperor abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with a view to eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

[1] Al Qur'án II, 256.

[2] The second month.

A second order was given that the sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names for the sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun; he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of his ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindú mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store-rooms and into Hindú guard-rooms. For the word *jamá'at*,[1] His Majesty used *jimá'*.[2] and for *hayya 'ala*,[3] he said *yalalá talalá*.[4] The cemetery within the walls was allowed to run waste.

He gave the sum of one *lac* of rupees in ready money, together with some elephants, and precious stuffs and gold and gilded vessels to his illustrious mother, and in the same way to his aunt Gulbadam Begum, and to the other Begums.

He also issued a general order, that every person from the highest to the lowest should bring him a present.

In this year A'zam Khán, and other great Amírs were appointed, and went and took possession of Tandah. Kháldí Khán Jabbárí, and Mírzá Beg Qaqshál deserted Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí, and came and had an interview with A'zam Khán. Then Ma'çúm Khán took refuge with some zamíndárs, and the whole province of Bengál became settled and quiet.

In this year in order to gratify the feelings of the rulers of the Dak'hin (P. 323), His Majesty gave the governership of Bengál to I'timád Khán, and made Sháh Abu-Tiráb *Amín*, and Khwajah Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad *Mír bakhshí*, and Abu-l-Qásim Tabarízí, brother of Mouláná 'Abd-ul-Qádir, the Emperor's tutor, he made *Díwán;*

[1] Public prayer congregation.

[2] Cohabitation, copulation.

[3] A phrase which occurs in the form of calling to prayer *(azán)*.

A phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth. *Blochm.*

and a number of people, such as Muḥammad Ḥusain, and Mír Abu-l-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khán, and Mír Háshim, and Mír Çáliḥ Da'í, and Sayyid Abu-Isḥáq, and he ordered to hold *jagirs* in that province.

In this year the Emperor who had imprisoned Shahbáz Khán on account of some insolence, having taken a strict account of all his improper and unprofitable behaviour, now set him free from clutch of the Rájah,[1] and through the intervention and patronage of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he released him from captivity. On the eighteenth of Jamáda's-sáni[2] the Emperor sent him off to Bengal, with instructions to hand over all that district to the jágírdárs, and to drive Ma'çúm Kábulí (of whose movements news had arrived) from the province of 'Ísa,[3] for " when the river of God comes, the river of 'Ísá is useless "; and if in this context for *Nahr-u'-lláh* you read *Shahr-u'-lláh*, the saying is not without point and appropriateness.[4] Meanwhile news arrived that Khán-i-A'zam had sent Shaikh Faríd Bokhárí to Qatlú Afghán Noḥání,[5] governor of Oṛísá with a view to pacification. Qatlú on account of his confidence in the Shaikh Faríd's holy descent went out to meet him, and assumed the post of servant to him. After this bond of friendship had been tied, Bahadúr Kúr Farah[6] one of the *zamíndárs* of Bengál, coming up very unceremoniously wished to be hale fellow well met with the Shaikh, but the Shaikh assumed *zamíndár-ish* airs. Upon this

[1] Rái Sál Darbárí. *Blochm* p. 400.

[2] The 6th Month.

[3] 'Isá Khán, *zamíndár* of Oṛisá. *Blochm.* p. 352.

[4] In the original proverb the (Freytag i. p. 139) name is Ma'qil, one of the companions of the prophet; Nahr-u-Ma'qil being the name of a river near Basrah. Our author seems to call the *Mahánadí* of Oṛisá the *Nahr-u-'Ísá* after the name of the zamíndár of the place. The month Rajab, which follows Jamáda's-sání is also called *Shahr-i-Khudá, i. q., Shar-ulláh.* He means that when Rajab came in, Oṛisá was conquered.

[5] Generally spelt *Loḥání.*

[6] Another reading is *Kúrdah. Tabaqáti Akbarí*, Elliot, V, p. 422, has *Gauriya.*

Sháhú, son of Shaikh Rájú Bokhárí, of Sarhind, who was not (P. 324) always just in his behaviour, and some other Bokhárís, all showed some ill-tenper. Bahádur was so enraged that at the time of the Shaikh's return, when Qatlú was travelling in his retinue, he seized the road and opposed his progress by force of arms. Sháhú, with a number of men was killed, and the Shaikh escaped without injury.

In this year Burhán-ul-mulk, brother of Murtazí Nizám-ul-mulk, governor of the Dak'hin,[2] fled from his brother. First he came to Málwah to Quṭb-ud-dín Khán. From thence, in obedience to the Emperor's command, he came to Court in the north Rajab,[3] and did homage. Some time before this an unknown vagabond, who falsely called himself Burhán-ul-mulk, had come to the Court, and had received a *jágír* in Oudh. But since he was unable to bring *proof*[4] that he was *Burhán*, he had fled and hid himself among the Jogís. After the lapse of a week the Emperor detected him from the rest, and had him imprisoned. After these transactions that ignoble fellow was never heard of again, for he lived a donkey, and was a donkey, and died a donkey.

In the same year His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindús and Musalmáns, one of them being called *Khaipúrah*, and the other *Dharmpúrah*. Some of Abu-l-Fazl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of *Jogís* also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of *Jogípúrah*.

His Majesty also called some of the Jogís, and gave them at night private interviews, enquiring into abstract truths; their articles of faith; their occupation; the influence of pensiveness: their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul.[4]

[1] That is of Aḥmadnagar. Elphinstone, p. 522.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] A play on the name *Burhán*, which means *proof*.

[4] So *Blochmann*, p. 201. But might not *rímiyá* be formed from *rímán* = *Ahrímán*, after the analogy of the two preceding words *kímiya* alchemy, and *ṣímiyá* natural magic, and mean "devilry?"

His Majesty even learned alchemy, and showed in public some of the gold made by him. On a fixed night, which came once a year, a great meeting was held of Jogís from all parts (P. 325). This night they called *Sívrát*.[1] The Emperor eat and drank with the principal Jogís, who promised him that he should live three or four times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and connecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, it became impressed on his mind as indelibly as though it were engraved on a rock. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs of the longevity of the Emperor, and said that the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind, would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years; and in Thibet there was even now a class of *Lámahs*, or devotees, and recluses, and hermits of Cathay, who live two hundred years, and more. For this reason His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lámahs, limited the time he spent in the Haram, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hair at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening of the human body) with a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul by metempsychosis will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king. His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tauḥíd-i-Iláhí*[2] ;—

> " You want to have this world at your wish,
> And also the right Religion :
> These two are not compatible,
> Heaven is not your slave. "

[1] Sanscrit *Ṣivarátri*, " night of Ṣiva. "

[2] Divine Monotheism.

And a number of disciples, who thought themselves something particular, he called *Chelah*, in accordance with the technical term of the Jogís. And another lot, consisting of wolves among the sheep, and hunters of the weak,[1] who were not admitted into the palace (P. 326), stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared that they had made vows not to rinse their mouth, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the Emperor. And every evening there was a regular Court assembly of needy Hindús and Musalmáns, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the thousand and one names of the "Greater Luminary," and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmans collected another set of one thousand and one names of "His Majesty the Sun," and told the Emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rám, Krishna, and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour Brahmans and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it:—

"Every one to whom thou saidst, Welcome! was welcome."

And some of these different bands, whichever they may be, they called *Aḥadí*, who will in the world of "Monotheism" obtain complete salvation, and in the deluge of water or fire will form an army that will sacrifice themselves:—

"O my heart do not make a boast of offering thyself,
Whenever the Beloved may happen to come.
The doings of every individual will be known,
When the time for action comes."

[1] Instead of از دال شیدا و صیاد زبون read از ذال شیاد صیاد زبون

In this year also in the State Hall of Fatḥpúr having filled the 100 *square cubits* of the Hanafís, and the *Qullatain*[1] of the Sháfi'ís and Shí'ahs, and drawn off the water, the quantity of the Hanafís (P. 327) was greater than that of the others.

His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnís should stand separately from the Shí'ahs, when the Hindústánís, without exception, went to the Sunní side, and the Persians to the Shí'ah side.

But, as we have often said, it is not possible for the most voluble historian to explain fully all the particulars, and minutiæ of his proceedings, and therefore, giving up all idea of so doing, we must take our own course.

When I'timád Khán was appointed to the governorship of the province of Gujrát,[2] which was the ladder of his ambition, he went to Sáróhí[3] He severed that district from Sarnál, and entrusted it to Jakmál, brother of the Ráná. On the twelfth of the month of Sha'bán[4] of this year he arrived at Aḥmadábád together with the Amírs, who were appointed to accompany him.

Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, who was absolute ruler of that place and had repelled all calamities and quelled all disturbances, upon this came out of the town with the intention of proceeding to the Court, and encamped at Osmanpúr. Here his lords and attendants, who detested their supersession and removal, deserted him, and together with other malcontents,[5] went to Káthíwár to seek Muzaffar bin Sulṭán Maḥmúd Gujrátí, who had fled from the Court, and taking refuge with his mother's relatives in the mountain districts, kept himself hid by day, and only dared to appear by night. Him they proclaimed Sulṭán.

I'timád Khán, although Shiháb-ud-dín had the means of quieting these people, would not accept his assistance, but said: "These men have sought their fate from God, and have tried to kill me.

[1] See Blochm. p. 202, *note*.

[2] Text, 322, last line.

[3] A small district of Rájpútáná.

[4] The eighth month.

[5] Compare Text, p. 249, l. 10.

Now the matter has passed out of my power to pacify, as you and all the kingdom know." So he retired to the town of Karí, which is twenty *cosses* from Aḥmadábád.

One or two persons on the part of I'timád Khán and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad went, and tried to quiet those rebels, but without success.

On the twenty-seventh of Sha'bán Muzaffar with the people of Kát'híwár and the rebellious Muguls came to Dholqah, which is twelve *cosses* from Aḥmadábád.

Meanwhile I'timád Khán, and Nizám-ud-din Aḥmad abandoned the city,[1] and together (P. 328) went to Karí with the intention of bringing back Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, and appeased him by offering to restore to him his old *pargannahs* as *jágír* on the same terms as before, and by giving him two *lacs* of rupees in ready-money as a subsidy. They left the care of the town of Karí in charge of Sher Khán, son of I'timád Khán, and left Mír Muḥamand Ma'çúm there with a strong force, in order that making that place the base of operations they might rally the scattered troops.

The next day Muzaffar moved from Dholqah, and some of the devotees of Sarkij,[2] which is three *cosses* from Aḥmadábád, took from the tombs of the late Sulṭán's an umbrella, which was ready to hand, and placed it over his head by way of omen, and congratulated him on his Sultanate. Thus, having heard good news from the unseen world, he entered Aḥmadábád.

Two[3] Amírs, imbecile in their actions, to whom the following verse applies :—

"I and my tutor are two poor old men,
Who want, the two of us, two good tutors."

with twisted reins, and broken crupper :—

"Their body not strong, their heart not patient,
Their fortune not friendly, their intellect not their guide,"

rode by night from Karí with a few followers, and arrived in the morning at Osmánpúr. Muzaffar made his *entrée* without fear or

[1] Aḥmadábád.

[2] Blochmn. p. 507 *note*.

[3] I'timád Khán and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán.

shame, with his troops drawn up as an *istiqbál*,[1] and stood on the sandy shore of the river of Aḥmadábád. Meanwhile those two old men as a means of scattering the rebels, and with a view to re-encouraging the scattered royalists were occupied in collecting debts, and writing requisitions, and despatching letters! And when things became desperate, not having any confidence in their followers they did not dare to offer battle, but helpless as sheep for the slaughter fled to the town of Patan, which is the same as Nahrwálah, and situated four or five *cosses* from Aḥmadábád, which they reached in one day. All the goods and chattels of the army were looted, and the wives and families of the soldiers were made prisoners (P. 329). Muḥammad Sharíf, son of Nizám-ud-din Aḥmad with his soldiers abandoned the protection of house and family, and managed to join his father. The fugitives, together with another body of Amírs, who had come to their assistance from Fatḥpúr, and amounted to one thousand horse, repaired the fortress of Patan, and made a stand there.

Muzaffar gave all sorts of grand titles to his worthless soldiery, and exciting their hopes of recovering the kingdom, grew so in dignity that, thanks to the power of God![2] he who had been a Court menial with a monthly stipend of thirty rupees, is now lord of thirty thousand clients. And sending for Sher Khán Fíládí, who had been formerly governor of Patan, from the province of Súrát, where he had been in misfortune, sent him with 4,000 horse against Patan.

The leaders at Patan sent Zain-ud-dín Kambú, brother of Shahbáz Khán, to Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán requesting him to march on Aḥmadábád from one quarter; while they would do so from the other, and so surround Muzaffar. But Muzaffar was too quick for them, and advancing with his army gave battle to Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán at Barodah. And that person of great hopes and little management, who in comparison with the energy of those two old men, was a paragon of the age :—

[1] A troop of horse which meet a person as a guard of honour See Atkinson's *Shâhnámah*, p. 522.

[2] *Názam* is from *Názídan* to boast. *Názam baqudrat-i-Khudá* is an exclamation in admiration of the power of God, who made an insignificant person rise to so high a dignity.

"There are two fortunate heavenly bodies, the Sun, and the Moon,
And time hath found thy fair cheek a third,"

made but little resistance, and was defeated and shut himself up in the fortress of Barodah. And the chief of his army, and his auxiliaries with one consent went over to Muzaffar.

Before this incident Sher Khán[1] with 5,000 horse, had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village of Miyánah, fifteen *cosses* from Patan. And Shiháb-ud-din Aḥmad Khán and I'timád Khán after much hesitation and cowardice determined to flee towards Jálor. But by the exertions of Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad they were restrained and remained at Patan.

The rest of the leaders with some veterans, who did not number more than 2,000, all told, (P. 330) marched with Nízam-ud-dín Aḥmad, and a great battle took place between the two armies. The breeze of victory and success fanned the banners of Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, and Sher Khán fled and retreated in haste towards Aḥmadábád. But, however much Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad strove to impress on the Amírs the importance of following up the victory by proceeding against Aḥmadábád, they would not consent. And this was the very crisis of affairs, for they had not yet received news of the defeat of Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán. In this battle a greal deal of spoil fell into the hands of the Amírs, so that they went to Karí and waited there twelve days waiting for the soldiers, who had gone with the spoil to Patan. Meanwhile intelligence arrived, that Muzaffar had bombarded the fortress of Barodah, which has a wall old as the building of his age, and weak[2] as the sense of Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán. Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, the foundations of whose life were even weaker than theirs, sent out Zain-ud-dín to Muzaffar to make terms of capitulation. Muzaffar at a moment's acquaintance treated Zain-ud-dín as if he had known him for a thousand years. To Khwájagí Muḥammad Çáliḥ, a former Çadr,[3] who had been appointed to accompany I'timád Khán, he from a

[1] Son of I'timád Khán, not Sher Khán Fúládí.

[2] We follow the Lakhnou lithograph, which reads, *sost* after *Muḥammad Khán*.

[3] See *Blochmann*, p. 528.

feeling of generosity granted his life, and allowed him to go on a pilgrimage. And to Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, the eye of whose penetration was blinded by the injury of fate, and whose bark was fonndering through calamity, he gave quarter, and so enticed him out of the fortress. He, little suspecting the treachery of Muzaffar, came out with the greatest weakness, and when he saw him offered him boundless salutations :—

"Fate is a person which has five fingers,
When she wishes to get her will on any one,
She puts two on his eyes, and two on his ears,
And one on his lips, with the words 'Be silent!' "

(P. 331) Muzaffar at the time of their meeting advanced towards him with greatest respect, and gave him a place on his own private sofa, and although he treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not cease to oppose his being put to death. At last at the instigation of one named Nawárí, a *zamíndár* of Rájpíplah, and others of the soldiery, he had the ground levelled over his head like his own buried Qárún treasures.[1] Then going from Parwár to Baroṇch, he took that fort from the wife and dependants of Quṭb-ud-dín by capitulation. And there he found fourteen *lacs* of rupees from the treasury of Cambay, which I'timád-ud-dín, the *krorí*, had carried off, together with all the property moveable and immoveable, and the immense private treasures of Quṭb-ud-dín Khán which exceeded 10 *krors;* and collected them together. And as for the other goods and chattels how can one describe them! And, which is very strange, Naurang Khán, the able son of Quṭb-ud-dín Khán, together with Qulíj Khán, and Shárif Khán, and Tulak Khán, and other Amírs of Málwah, in these harrowing circumstances[2] did not stir a fcot from Nazarbár and Sulṭánpúr, which were very near, and so could not receive any news of his parents :—

"When once you know that Destiny is all tangles,
Nobody is anything to you."

[1] The Arabic name for Korah.

[2] Lakh'nou lithographed (edit. reads واقعهٔ not قلعهٔ).

And the army, the number of which has been before mentioned, consisting of Mogúls, Afgháns and Gujrátís, gathered round Muzaffar. On hearing this news Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and the other commanders went to Patan, and joined those two[1] renowned Amírs. There they kept expecting the arrival of Mírzá Khán, son of Bairám *Khán Khánán*, and all the Amírs who had been appointed to go from the Court, and were marching towards Aḥmadábád through Jálor and Patan. Mirzá Khán remained one day at Patan, and then marching on halted at Sarkich.[2] And (P. 332) Muzaffar returned from Barodah, and committing the charge of the fortress of Baroṇch to his wife's brother, Naçír by name, and to a Rúmí named Jarkas,[3] (who was a servant who had fled from the imperial Court,) and having pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of the burial place of Sháh B'hekan (?), (God sanctify his glorious tomb !), which was but two *cosses* distant, he there encamped. The next day a fierce battle took place, and Muzaffar was defeated, and retired to Ma'múrábád. And Sayyid Háshim Bárhah and Kizr Aqá the *wakíl* of Mírzá Khán were stained in the gore of victory,[4] and many men were wounded ; and on the side of the enemy, who could number the slain ! This action took place on 16th of the forbidden month of Muḥarram in the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991). And, since Mirzá Khán before the victory had vowed that if the bride of victory showed her face from behind the veil, he would give all the goods and chattels that might be among the baggage, as a thank-offering for that event,[5] to the poor and needy, with a view to paying this vow he ordered some of his servants to fix a price on all stuffs and horses and elephants and furniture, that he might expend that money in disbursements. These untrustworthy, deceitful, irreligious valuers set such a price on them, that not a fourth, or a fifth or even a tenth of the market-value came to the poor. And some things they gave away in order to

[1] Text 329 last four lines.

[2] Text 328. l. 6.

[3] Possibly a Greek named George Γεώργιος.

[4] To become the "Rose of Victory'' means to be slain in gaining a victory.

[5] *Rnaánú*, "showing of face," "event" a *double entendre*.

bring joy to their own hearts, and to comfort their own hearts, and so it did! And some domestics,[1] who were servants of Mirzá Khán, such as Daulat Khán Afghán Lodí, Mullá Maḥmúdí, and others, represented to him: "Ever since we have been your attendants, we have not committed a fault. How comes it then that we should be so lorded over and oppressed by the imperial servants, and that they should always take precedence of us at assemblies, when they are really our inferiors with respect to salutations and other points of court etiquette? Mirzá Khán found these weak and fallacious arguments very agreeable and reasonable, and having got ready some dresses of honour and many horses destined for each one of the Amírs, and having caused their names to be written on them, (P. 333) he prepared a great *levée*. He himself went into an attiring room, and became engrossed in the occupation of making his guests sit down, and in putting their dresses on them. Then he sent for Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad (who some time during the life of Bairán Khán *Khán Khánán* had married his foster-sister) and put the case before him. He gave the following advice. These followers[2] of yours are possessed by a spirit of wrong-headedness in this matter, if the Emperor were to hear of it, what would he order? As far as salutation on your part is concerned, what reason would there be in his ordering you to salute Shiháb-ud-dín Khán who is your superior both from the dignity of commanding 5000 and also from being older in years[3]? and similarly, how would it be right for him to order I'timád Khán, who once upon a time was commander of 20,000, horse, to salute you? And since Páyandah Muḥammad Khán Moghul has most unmistakably declared himself opposed to it, and the others are not in the least worth considering, you had better ignore the matter altogether. Mirzá Khán accepted their advice, and gave up the pretension.

[1] See p. 194 note 4.

[2] Lak'hnou Ed. reads تابینان a corruption of Ar. تابع with addition of Pers. plural termination.

[3] Since you would do it naturally without being ordered.

Three days after the victory Qulíj Khán and the other Amírs of Málwah came to Ahmadábád. And when they heard that Muzáffar, had gone to Cambay from Ma'múrábád, which is on the banks of the river Mahindra, and a company of 20,000 horsemen had gathered round him from the fugitive, Mirzá Khán with the Amírs went in that direction in pursuit. Muzaffar betook himself to Barodah, and thence towards Rájpíplah, and Nádot. And Mirzá Khán having come to Barodah, sent an army against a servant of Muzaffar's, named Daulat to the gates of Cambay, and brought him out, and then hastened to Nádot; Qulíj Khán and the rest of the great Amírs he appointed to go to the mountain district of the interior, where Muzaffar had taken refuge. And everywhere Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad kept that force continually on the move, which entailed much baggage and munitions requiring heavy dragging about, and showed a gallant perseverance quite exceeding what could be expected of one in his poor position, (P. 334) nay even beyond the limits of human power. At last through his efforts a great battle, like the first battle of Sarkich, took place with Muzaffar. They gained the victory, and Muzaffar's forces were dispersed in all directions. Mirzá Khán came to Aḥmadábád, and directed the Amírs of Málwah, and the rest, to besiege the castle of Baroṇch. After seven months, Jarkas Rúmí, who held the command of that fort on the side of Muzaffar, was killed, and Naçír Muzaffar's wife's brother capitulated.

This year after sending Mirzá Khán and the army of Málwah to Gujrát the Emperor started from Ágrah in a boat on a pleasure expedition to Iláhábád, which is a new erection on the site of Prayág, an old sacred city of the Hindús, where they had built several fortresses. On the day of his starting they brought from Makkah the news of the death of Shaikh Badr-ud-dín, son of Shaikh Islám Chishtí, who had kept a voluntary fast for seven whole days, and in intense ecstacy had made the circuits of the Ka'abah barefooted until his feet were blisted, and violent fever supervened. On the Feast of Qurbán in the year nine hundred and ninety he drank the draught of martyrdom of death, in the path of God from the hand of the cupbearer of eternal grace :—

"Last night on account of my sincerity and purity of my heart
In the wine tavern that soul-gladdener of my heart
Brought me a cup, saying 'Take and drink,'
I said 'No!' he said 'Do! for my heart's sake.'"

This news the Emperor sent to Ḥájí Ḥusain, the attendant of the monastery of the said Shaikh, and great dismay and distress found its way into that family, and the line of guidance (P. 335) and teaching which he had left was cut short. The Emperor stayed four months there, and sent Zain Khán Kokah, and Bír Bar, who had formerly been a servant of Rájah Rám Chand B'hatta, on an embassy to Chorágaṛh. Rám Chand agreed to submit, and after paying Zain Khán all sorts of hospitality, he kept him with him, until he came in his company to Fatḥpúr, and did homage there. There he offered 120 rubies, and other jewels in the same proportion as a proper present. And among those jewels was one, the worth of which was 50,000 rupees. He left his son, named Bábá, in the service of the court, and himself after some time obtained leave to go home. And soon after he went to his natural abode—Hell, where he got into hot water.[1] This Rám Chand in his natural disposition was of such high spirit, that he has none equal in our days. And among his presents was this: he gave in one day a *kror* of gold pieces to Miyán Tánsingh, the musician. And I have mentioned above,[2] how that he gave to Ibráhím Súr the ensigns of royalty. Miyán Tánsingh did not wish to leave him. Finally Jalál Khán Qurchí came, and brought him back to his sense of duty.

At that time A'zam Khán came in haste from Ḥájípúr to Iláhábád and did homage, and receiving leave to depart he went quickly back again to bring his army. And the Amírs laid in that city the foundations of a great building; and it was determined that thenceforth that place should be the Capital. And they struck a new coinage, and Sharíf Sarmadí, the registrar of outposts of whom some one said:—

"There were two registrars, and both were coarse,
One was Sharíf and not Nafís,

[1] A pun on *Jaḥím* and *ḥammím*.

[2] Vol. I, p. 432, text. Compare Erskine's *Húmáyún*, ii, p. 501.

The other was Nafís and not Sharíf,"[1]

wrote this verse for the coin :—

"Ever may it current be,
Like the gold of sun and moon,
(P. 336) From east to west of the world,
The coinage of Iláhábád."

About this time Mullá Iláhdád of Amrohah and Mullá Sherí attended the Court in order to flatter the Emperor ; for they had been appointed to *Cadr*-ships[2] in the Duáb of the Panjáb. Mullá Sherí presented to His Majesty, a poem composed by him, entitled *Hazár Shu'á'*,[3] which contained 1,000 *qiṭ'ahs* in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased.

In the month Zí-ḥajjah[4] of this year the Emperor returned thence, with a view to going to Fathpúr to quell the disturbances in Gujrát ; but in environs of Atáwah news arrived of the victory of Mirzá Khán.

And in the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992), when the Emperor returned to the capital gracious *farmáns* were issued to the Amírs of Gujrát. To Mirzá Khán was given the title of *Khán Khánán*, and a horse and a dress of honour, and jewelled girdle and dagger, and a *tumantoq*,[5] and the rank of a commander of 5,000, which was the highest dignity of Amírs. And to Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, who had been the cause of their persevering in the conquest of that country, he gave a horse and dress of honour, and a rise in rank. And the ranks of tho others also he increased, *viz.*, raising them from 10 to 20, or from 10 to 30 according to the circumstances of each.[6]

In this year the Emperor commanded me to make a translatíon of the *Rámáyana*, which is a superior composition to the *Mahábhá-*

[1] I suppose the other was called *Nafís* "precious." *Sharíf* means "noble."

[2] See p. 295 of Text.

[3] The thousand rays.

[4] The twelfth month.

[5] A standard of the highest dignity. Bloch. p. 50.

[6] These are the three lowest ranks. He means that each was promoted either *one* step or *two*.

rata. It contains 25,000 couplets,[1] and each *çlok*-portion consists of 65 letters.[2] The story is about Rám Chand Rájah of Oudh, whom they also call Rám. And the Hindús pay him worship as a god in human form. And the sum and substance of it is that a demon with ten heads named Rávan, ruler of the island of Lanká deceived his wife Sítá and carried her off. And Rám Chand with his brother Lach'hman went to that island. And a great army of monkeys, and bears (P. 337) whose number the intellect cannot count, gathered together, and threw a bridge of the length of 400 *cosses* over the briny ocean. And some of the monkeys they say leapt that distance, and others of the monkeys went on foot. And there are many contradictory idle tales like this, which the intellect is at a loss whether to accept or reject. At any rate Rám Chand mounted on the monkeys passed over the bridge, and for a whole week made a tremendous fight of it, and killed Rávan and all his children and relatives, and put an end to his family which had lasted a thousand years. And having entrusted Lanká to Rávan's brother[3] he turned to his own city. And in the opinion of the Hindús he reigned 10,000 years over the whole of Hindústán, and then returned to his original abode. And the opinion of this set of people is, that the world is very old, and that no age has been devoid of the human race, and that from that event 100 thousand thousand years have passed. And yet for all that they make no mention of Adam, whose creation took place only 7,000 years ago. Hence it is evident that these events are not true at all, and are nothing but pure invention, and simple imagination, like the *Sháhnámah*, and the stories of Amír Hamzah,[4] or else it must have happend in the time of the dominion of the beasts and the *jinns*—but God alone knows the truth of the matter.

[1] *Çloka.*

[2] More accurately 32 syllables.

[3] He joined Rám early in the conflict. His name was Vibhíshaṇa.

[4] An uncle of Muḥammad, who named him *Asad-ulláh* "Lion of God" on account of his courage and valour. His wonderful exploits are celebrated in the *Hamzahnámah.*

And among the remarkable events of this time was this. They brought a low-caste woman into the Audience hall, and said that she had become a man, and one of the translators of the *Rámáyana* went out of the company of the translators, and saw her, and came back and testified that she was a woman, who through shame covered her face, and uttered not a word. And the doctors brought forward many proofs confirming this matter, and said that such things often occurred, (glory to God who rules in his kingdom as he will !)

And in this year Mullá Alim of Kábul, who was very learned, and sweet-voiced, and of pleasant (P. 338) conversation, and was the most cheerful fellow imaginable,[1] died, and the date was found to be given by : "*The greedy man's hair is covered with dust,*[2]" and the *Fawátiḥ-ul-waláyat*[3] is his work.

At this time the thirtieth year from the accession, and the *Nowroz-i-Sultání*,[4] which corresponds with the *Nowroz-i-jalálí*,[5] arrived. On the eighth of the month Rabi'-ul-awwal[6] of the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992) the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place. And the customary fancy bazzaar and festival was held,[7] and a great concourse came together, and new-fangled customs came into *vogue*, and beards were sent flying. And bells—brazen bulls, like the calf of Sámarí[8]—were played, and made a great noise. And *bílan*,[9] which are tents looking like domes, and are an invention of the Europeans, were set up. And they sacrificed their wealth, and life,

[1] *I. e.*, by no means a saint. He was no favourite with our author. See Vol. iii, p. 153. Text., and Blochm. pp 159, 546.

[2] 30 + 70 + 500 + 9 + 41 + 70 = 991.

[3] First steps towards saintship.

[4] The new year's day of the *Iláhí* era.

[5] See Blochm pp. 183, 276.

[6] The third month

[7] See above, p 321 Text.

[8] A relative of Aaron according to Al Qurán.

[9] Apparently a mistake for پیلان the Portuguese *Pavelhão*, Pavillion. Lakhnow edition has پیلان.

reputation, and religion[1] to their friendship for the Emperor. And so many holy souls rushed upon this trial, that they cannot be numbered. And sets of twelve persons, by turns, and in exactly the same same way, became disciples, and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-discipleship[2] he gave them a likeness; they looked on it as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousnness, and happiness, and they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on the top of their turbans. And *Alláh Akbár* was used by them in the prefaces of their writings. And dice-playing and usury were allowed, and other forbidden things in like manner. And gambling houses were set up at the Court, and the Emperor lent money to the players at interest from the treasury. And borrowing on interest, and giving money away to the spectators was looked on as a branch of economy.[3] He forbade girls before twelve, and boys before sixteen years of age to be married. And the story of the consummation of the Prophet's marriage with *Çadíqah*[4] (God bless him and his family and give them peace!) he utterly abhorred And all his other heretical attacks on othodoxy who can speak of! Would that my ears were filled with quicksilver, so that what things would they escape hearing! And the failings of all the prophets (God's blessings, and His peace be on them all!) the Emperor cited as reasons for disbelieving, especially the story of David (P. 339) and Uriah, and the like. And whosoever did not agree with his creed, he considered worthy of death, and a reprobate, and eternally damned, and gave him the nickname of Lawyer and Enemy of the State, but in accordance with the proverb:—

"What a man sows that shall he reap,"

they themselves became notorious throughout the world for the errors of the most infidel religion; and the *Mujtahid* and spiritual director,[5]

[1] The 4 grades of devotion, see abeve.

[2] Bloch. 203, *note*.

[3] This is a philosophical use of داخل. The word کیافت means "economy," as well as "ability", "sufficiency." The whole is sarcastic.

[4] *I. e. Aishah*, who was only 9 years old at the time.

[5] *Viz.* Abu-l-l-Fazl.

got the name of *Abu-l-l-jahl*, yea "when the ruler is oppressive, the vazír becomes deceitful." The Emperor considered his secular power as subservient to his spiritual power, and so he considered these affairs the most important of all, and other things as mere accessories. And in order to abolish the stall of the glory of our religion, he ordered the stalls of the *nowróz* to be thrown open from time to time for the amusement of the Bégums and people of the ḥaram, and the wives of high and low, and on such occasions distributed gold. And the important affairs of those, who were outside the ḥaram, and marriage contracts and betrothal of sons and daughters were transacted in those assemblies. Nothing except an official post, and an eye to the Emperor's friendship, was looked on as worth anything. And, however much the Emperor endeavoured to remove this bond, yet of Hindú infidels, (who are indispensable, and of whom half the army, and country will soon consist, and as whom there is not among the Moghuls[1] or Hindústánís[2] a tribe so powerful), he could not have enough. But to other people, whatever they might ask for, he gave nothing but kicks and blows, and utterly disregarded all their devotion, and zeal, and complaisance.

In those days A'zam Khán came by forced marches from Ḥájípúr [opposite] Patnah in accordance with his promise. And representations arrived from Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím to the effect, that Badakhshán had entirely fallen into the power of Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, for that Mirzá Sulaimán, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Makkah, had seized Badakhshán, and that Mirzá Sháhrukh had fought with the Uzbek, and being defeated by him, they had both of them fled for refuge to Hindústán.

(P. 340) In the first part of the month Zíqa'dah[3] of this year a communication arrived from Mán Singh from the banks of the Indus, saying that Mirzá Sháhrukh had arrived at the Indus, and that he had gone to meet him, and had offered him as a present 6,000 rupees, and much cloth &c., and five elephants, and that Mirzá Sháhrukh

[1] The then dominant race.

[2] Native Musalmáns.

[3] The elevanth month.

had then crossed the river Indus. This service of his was favourably received by the Emperor.

In this year many of the Amírs and magnates of the Empire died, and among them was Muḥammed Báqí Khán, brother of Ahdam Khán, in the district of Karahkatangah, which was his jágír.

Another was Ghází Khán Badakhshán, who had obtained leave to go from Iláhábád towards Oudh, and there he answered to the Apparitor of God. During the latter days of his life he had been so weak, that they used to take him up in a blanket and bring him to the palace. When any one asked him "How are you?" He would answer "Thank God, my appetite for avarice is still hearty!" And to any one of his importunate servants, when he asked him for anything, he used to say: "My God! you will also become a commander of a thousand, for you appreciate my power of getting on[1]." One night in front of the house of Qulij Khán, where a great company had gathered together to break the Fast, he interpreted the Surah "*Anná fataḥná.*"[2] I struck in; he made his statement, and then was angry. I said: "Thank God, that the dispositions of the great ones of the kingdom are becoming known." He said: "Perhaps you may have imagined that this vehemence was for the sake of a *mançab* of a thousand horse." I said, "So it seems." Many were angry at this. Afterwards by the intervention of Áçaf Khán, *bakhshí*, we read the verse[3] "Peace is best," and that trouble was got over. On another occasion when he was going from Iláhábád, I had a discussion with Ghází Khán for a part of the way on scientific matters and the traditional words of the Shaikhs, and then we took leave of one another, and that was the last time I met him.

Aud another was Sultán Khwájah. He also was one of the elect disciples of His Majesty. After burying him in his tomb (P. 341) which was of a peculiar new-fangled kind, they put a grating facing the light of the sun, so that its rays, which cleanses from sins, might every morning fall on his face. And they say that tongues

[1] That is, You will never lose anything for want of asking for it.

[2] The initial words of Al Qur'án, XLVIII.

[3] Al Qur'án, IV. 127. See p. 48 *note* 1.

of fire used to rest on his mouth; but God knows best the truth of the matter. And Mullá Aḥmad of Tattah found out a *mnemosynon* with one unit short:—

"The Sulṭán of heretics."[1]

At the beginning of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (993) which was the end of the thirtieth year of the Emperor's reign, Mirzá Sháhrukh and Rájah Bhagván Dás arrived near Fatḥpúr, and having sent the Prince Dányál with Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí, and a number of the Amírs to meet them, they conducted them to the Court. And the Emperor gave him a *lac* of rupees in ready money, and goods ont of the wardrobe, and three Persian horses, and five elephants, and ever so many camels and mules and servants.

Mean while the Emperor, in accordance with his established custom,[2] married the Prince Sulṭán Salím to the daughter of Rájáh Bhagván Dás. And going himself to his house the Emperor celebrated the ceremony of mariage in the presence of the Qazís and nobles. And the sum of two *krors* of *tankahs* was fixed as the marriage settlement. And they performed all the ceremonies, which are customary among the Hindús, such as lighting the fire &c., and over the litter of the Princess the Emperor ordered gold to be scattered all the way from that house to the palace:—

"From the quantity of jewels and gold, that were scattered,
Peoples hands were weary of picking them up."

And Rájah Bhagván gave as his daughter's dowry, several strings of horses, and a hundred elephants, and boys and girls of Abyssinia, India, and Circassia, and all sorts of golden vessels set with jewels, and jewels, and utensils of gold, and vessels of silver, and all sorts of stuffs, the quantity of which is beyond all computation. And to each one of the Amírs, who were present, according to their station and rank, he gave Persian, Turkish, and Arabian horses, with golden saddles, &c. (P. 342).

And on Thursday the nineteenth of Rabi' ul-awwal[3] of the year

[1] 60 + 30 + 9 + 1 + 50 1 + 30 + 600 + 6 + 1 + 200 + 3 = 991.

[2] *Viz.*, of connecting himself with Hindú families.

[3] The third month.

nine hundred and ninety-three, the scouts of the army of spring, and the advance-guard of the *Nouróz-i-Sultání* came up, and according to the writings of Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, who has preserved all the dates in his history, the thirtieth year from the Accession began. But the fact is the beginning of the second cycle from the Accession started in Atak Banáras from 25th of Rabí'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-four, as shall be related[1] hereafter if God, He is exalted, will. And at the same time the origin of the mistake on the part of the Mirzá was forgetfulness of the fact that, on account of the intercalated days, which every three years makes a difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a whole year, between the solar and the lunar years. And I, as I had no almanack with me, allowed myself necessarily to follow the Mirzá, and the responsibility rests on him (but God knows best!). Moreover the Mirzá during these years was in Gujrát, and not with the Imperial Camp.

To return to our story. He kept the festival in the old manner, and held a high feast. And every day he received hospitality from every stall-holder[2] among the Amírs, and suitable presents, so that even food, and scents, and presents fit for dancing-girls, were admitted into the treasury. And from a commander of 5000, down to an *Aḥadí* they were all obliged to bring presents and gifts and offerings. And even this worthless atom, who is of no account at all, except that I am called an *Hazárí* on account of my being honoured with 1000 *bíghahs* of land, followed the example of the old father of Joseph (peace be on him!) and brought my 40 *rupees*,[3] and they had the honour of being accepted :—

"My service is not according to my liking,
Pray give me another service."

At this festival they gave to the eldest prince the rank of commander of 12,000, and to the next 9,000, and to the third 7,000, and

[1] Text, p. 351.

[2] See p. 321 Text 4 *infra*.

[3] Referring to the "small sum of money which Jacob's sons brought to Pharaoh, Al Qu'rán XII, 88.

gave them a separate wardrobe, and royal insignia, and a *tumantogh*,[1] and kettle-drum.

And at the beginning of this year Mír (P. 343) Murtaza', and Khadáwand Khán, the Amírs of the Dak'kin, who had gone from the district of Berár against Aḥmadnagar, which is the metropolis of Nizám-ul-mulk, were beaten in a battle with Çalábat Khán, the Vazír of Nizám-ul-mulk. Then they went to Rájah 'Alí Khán to Burhánpúr. And Rájah 'Alí Khán plundered them of all their elephants, sent 150 of them by his son, Ibráhím Khán, to the Court, where he arrived at the festival of *Nouróz*. After he had done homage he presented the rest of the goods,[2] which remained over, and stimulated him to conquer the Dak'hin. In consequence of this the Emperor made Sháh Fatḥ Ulláh (whom he afterwards called Mír Fatḥ Ulláh), with the title of 'Azud-ul-doulat and a present of 5,000 rupees, and a horse and a robe of honour, Çadr-in-chief of the districts of Hindústán, and appointed him to the Dak'hin; in order that looking after Khán-i-A'zam and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán and the other Amírs, and leading an army into that district he might become a rallying point for the Amírs.

And he left his servant Kamáláí Shírází at home as his Deputy, to bring to Court the lackland Aimahdárs, some of whom still remained scattered here and there. And under him the Çadrate reached its acmé,[3] but afterwards little by little things reached such a point, that Sháh Fatḥ Ulláh, for all his pomp and circumstance, could not make a grant of 5 bígahs of land! Nay, after withdrawing the whole of the grants of lands, his duty of collecting[4] from them became a mere phantom. The very land in the same manner became the dwelling-place of wild animals, and of noxious beasts and reptiles, not of *Aimahdárs* and *ryots*. And now those oppressions are chronicled in the books of the acts of the Çadrs, although their names are forgotten :—

[1] See P. 346, note 4.

[2] Instead of *aspání* the Lak'hnou reads *asbábí*.

[3] *Kamál*, a pun on his name.

[4] See Blochm. 274.

Of all the *Great Çadrs* naught remains
In the heart of the Earth but the *bones* of the *Çadrs*.[1]

In the month of Rajab[2] of this year news arrived from Kábul, that Mirzá Sulaimán, who after being defeated had gone from Badakhshán to Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, had been satisfied (P. 344) with one village called Asálú (?). Then with the help of the Uymáqs[3] he fought a battle with the Uzbeks within the boundaries of Badakhshán, and gained the victory. He put many of them to the sword, and to those whom the sword had spared he gave dresses of honour, and dismissed them. And that district found as it were a second life: "He it is who sendeth down rain, after that they have despaired[4]".

And in the month of Shábán[5] of this year the Khán Khánán, in accordance with orders, came by forced marches from Gujrát to Fatḥpúr, and Muzaffar once more created a disturbance in Gujrát. And on account of the great trouble which the Jám,[6] and Amín Khán Ghorí, governor of Júnágaṛh, gave him, and the tricks they had played him, he went and laid seige to the fortress of Júnágaṛh. Qulíj Khán remained in Aḥmadábád, and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad sent the Amírs of that district against Muzaffar, who was not able to withstand them. He crossed the marsh of the Rin[7] (which is separated from the salt sea by a distance of from ten to thirty *cosses*, and entering the sandy desert of Jaisalmír, there loses itself), and came into the district of Kachh.

At this time Nizám-ud-din Aḥmad wrote a letter to me from Gujrát, saying that since the Khán Khánan at the time of setting out [for Fatḥpúr] made a promise, that if he got the Emperor's leave he would at this time bring with him Mullá Iláhdád Amrohah, and

[1] A play on *Çudúr-i 'izám* and *'izám-i Çudúr*.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] Blochm. 371 *n*.
[4] Al Qurán, XLII. 27.
[5] The eighth month.
[6] Blochm p. 516. Elliot, VI, 356; V. 438, and especially I, 495.
[7] The printed text has by accident زن.

yourself[1] from the Court. Consequently it is right that he should treat you both with every proper politeness, and having got leave for you from Court should bring you at once hither. As a wise man has it :—

"And afterwards, whatever may be best."—

So I saw at once the Khán Khánán, when he came into the writing office, which had been set apart in Fatḥpúr as the translation-department. But he, as quickly as possible, was sent off to Gujrát (P. 345), and then immediately afterwards Kábul came in the way, and so my hope of employment, which I had looked on as the key of salvation, and a secured provision for life, became clouded over : "wish for nothing, but what God wills."

And the Khán Khánán having arrived within 10 *cosses* of Sarohí, determind to take Sarohí and Jálór. And Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and Sayyid Qásim Bárhah hastened thither to meet him, and arrived with a large force. The Rájah of Sarohí brought many presents, and give in his submission. And as for Ghaznín Khán of Jálór, although he had an interview with him on this occasion, yet, since before, when the Khán Khánán had gone to the Court, he had exhibited some unpleasing actions, and shown tokens of rebellion, the Khán Khánán made him prisoner and brought him to Aḥmadábád. He deprived him of Jálór, and left his own army in that place.

And some time before this Sayyid Jamál-ud-dín, the grandson of Maḥmúd Bárhah, on account of a love affair with one of the dancing-girls of the Court by name Siyáh Yamín, who may now be called Ahrimaní,[2] had fled from the Court and gone to the skirts of the mountains. There he had collected a force, and kept looting the *pargannas* of that neighbourhood, and robbing on the highways. Afterwards he left the skirts of the mountains, and took refuge at Patan in Gujrát with his uncle Sayyid Qásim. Some time after the events related above, the Khán Khánán, in accordance with a *farmán*, demanded him from Patan (which was Sayyid Qásim's jágír) and sent him bound to Láhór. And eventually he married Ghaznín

[1] Lit. A certain person.

[2] A child of the devil, meaning that she was dead and gone to hell.

Khán to the little daughter of Muḥammad Wifá, the late treasurer, and to please Miyán Fatḥullah Sharbatí, his wife's brother, he treated him with great kindness and consideration, and allowed him to remain in attendance at Court. And Sayyid Jamál-ud-dín they hung on a stake in the same market,[1] and shot at him with arrows. So that was the only exaltation he got from love!

And in those days a representation came from Mán Singh and Khwájah Shams-ud-dín from Aṭak Banáras (P. 346) to the effect, that Mirzá Muhammad Ḥakím had been taken sick, and that Faríd-ún having set out from Pasháwar with a caravan with a view to going to Kábul, had had an encounter in the Khaibar pass with the son of Roshaní[2] the heretic (who was a Hindústání and possessed of but little knowledge, and has now gained a reputation as a priest of darkness), and being defeated had returned to Pasháwar. By chance the fortress was set on fire, and 1,000 merchantmen's camels were burnt. And Farídún having escaped from that fire-like smoke[3] went towards Kábul by another route. Seventy persons through thirst, and want of water, perished on that journey.

Meanwhile news arrived that 'Abd'ullah Khán[4] had fitted out an army of superior numbers against Mírzá Sulaimán, and after a victory, which was as brilliant as a lamp's illuminating of a house, had expelled him from Badakhshán, and seized the whole of that country himself. The Mirzá being unable to withstand that army fled to Kábul.

At this time news arrived from Kábul that Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím through drinking habits had brought on a number of conflicting diseases, and having fallen sick had developed a palsy. And on the twelfth of Sha'bán of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (993) he passed from this dwelling of sadness and deceit, to the world of joy and happiness:—

[1] This meaning of *nakhkhás* is given by Shakespeare.

[2] Elphinston, p 517.

[3] A common expression in the Sháhnámah, and very appropriate in this context.

[4] Uzbek.

"See how many are the revolutions of the spheres,
Which bring from the dust some new fruit.
When that cypress tree is decked in beauty,
The wind dashes it to the ground at one blow."

And on the third of the month of Ramazán messengers brought this mournful news to Court. And the Emperor had to consider to whom he should commit Kábul and Ghaznín. At first he wished to confirm the government of that country on the children of Mirza Muḥammad Ḥakím. But when the Amírs represented that the sons of the Mirzá were still of tender age, and unable to discharge the duties of government :—

(P. 347) "Entrust not a hard matter to the young,
For you must not break an anvil with your fist.
Protecting subjects, and commanding an army,
Are not matters of play and joke."

Consequently the Emperor wrote a *farmán* in haste, and appointed the Khán Khánán to Gujrát, and sent 'Azud-ud-doulat from the Court to Málwah and Ráisín to look after the affairs of the Dak'hin, and to help Khán-i-Azam and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, who had been ordered to conquer the Dak'hin. Then he set off in person on the 10th of the month for the Panjáb, and saw the new moon of Shawwál in Dihlí. When at the station of Pánípat he gave a jágír in the environs of Lak'hnou to Mír Abu-l-Ghais of Bokhára, and dismissed him thither. On the 19th of this month he arrived at the river Satlaj. And in those days, in the course of a week more or less, Shaikh Jamál Bakhtiyár, and Khwájah Isma'íl, grandson of Shaikh Islám, who was possessed of the most perfect personal beauty, by reason of perpetual wine drinking and continual debauchery, passed from this transitory world to the eternal habitation : the one at Lodhiyánah, and the other at T'hánésar : and this enigma was invented to give the date :—

Hemistich.

"The *beautiful Rose* left the *Garden of the World.*"[1]

And at 3 *cosses* from Siálkóṭ Mullá Iláhdád Amrohah,[2] who had

[1] *Bágh-i Jahán* "Garden of the World" gives 1062 From this take *Zébá Gul* "Beautiful rose," which gives 70, and we get 992. This is one too little.

[2] Vol. III, Text, p 157.

received a wound in his breast, the fever of which had reached his heart, took a purgative from Ḥakím Ḥasan, and died in the course of the day. Death is the awakening [from the drunkenness of life]. The draught [of Death] to him was a good friend (God have mercy on him !) :—

"O heart who told you : Cling to earth ?
Put this tender soul of yours into security.
Consider, since you came, how many are gone,
At last you are alone, take warning from their going."

And the Emperor sent Çádiq Khán from the confines of Láhór to the government of Bakkar. And on (P. 348) 16th of Zi-qa'dah[1] he encamped on the banks of the river Chanáb. At this station Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥím of Lak'hnou, a friend of Mír Abu-l-Ghais and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhárá (who had come from the Khán-i-Zamán to the Court, and had been raised to the rank of Amír, and received as *jágír* the *pargannah* of Pathán in the confines of the mountains, and at this time had developed a temporary insanity) struck himself with a dagger in the tent of Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ. The Emperor bound up his wound with his own hand, and gave orders that he should be taken care of at Siálkoṭ. After a time he recovered, but by reason of his insanity his affairs slipped from his grasp, and now as ever [the verse is true] :—

"A bad habit, that has once fixed itself in the temperament,
Will never leave you till the hour of death."

And on the 27th of this month of this month he crossed the river Behat[2]. At this stage Muḥammad 'Alí the treasurer, who had been appointed to Kábul, represented, that after the death of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákím, Farídún Khán, and Kaiqabád, and Afrásiyáb, the sons of the Mirzá, who on account of their tender age were not allowed to enter into public business, had by the favour of the Amírs been presented to Mánsingh. And Mánsingh having left his own son, with Khwájah Shams-ud-dín Kháfí, in Kábul, and having spoken kindly to all those people, came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The river Jelum.

On the fifth of the month Zi-ḥajjah[1] Ráwal Pindí, which is a town between Atak Banáras and Rohtás, became the Emperor's halting-place. And Mánsingh brought with him the children and servants of Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím. And the Emperor ordered for each of them gifts and assistance in money, and proper pensions. And from the confines of Aták Banáras he sent Mírzá Sháhrukh, and Ráják Bhagwán Dás and Sháh Qulí Maḥram, with 5,000 horse to conquerd the country of Kashmír.

And in these days he appointed Isma'íl Qulí (P. 349) Khán, and Rái Singh Darbárí, against the Balúchís; and Zín Khán Kokah he appointed with a well-appointed army against the Afgháns of Sawad and Bijor.

On the eleventh of Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) Atak became the Emperor's camping-place. Some twenty-five years before this a Hindústání soldier had made himself a religious teacher, with the name of Roshanáí, as has been mentioned above. He came among the Afgháns and made many fools his disciples, and set up an heretical sect, and gave it currency and lustre. He wrote a work called the Khair-ul-bayán in which he set forth his pernicious tenets. When he went headlong to his own place, his son, Jalálah by name, who was forty years old, came in the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989), when the imperial army was returning from Kábul, to pay his respects to the Emperor, and was favourably received by him. But through his constitutional impudence both hereditary and acquired he fled, and returned to the Afgháns, and becoming a bandit; he collected many men around him,and blocked up the roads between Hindústán and Kábul: —

"If the egg of a black-natured crow
You put under a pea-hen of Paradise;
If at the time of sitting on that egg,
You give it its millet from the figs of Paradise;
If you give it its water from the fountain of Salsabíl,[3]
If Gabriel breathe his breath over that egg;

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The first month.
[3] One of the rivers of Paradise.

In the end the young of a crow is a crow,
And the Pea-hen will spend her trouble in vain."

Consequently with a view to repressing this rustic band of Roshanáís (who are in very truth utter darkness, and hereafter will find their interpretation in darkness[1]) he appointed Kábul as the jágír of Mánsingh, that he might extirpate those rebels.

In the month of Çafar of this year the Emperor sent Sa'íd Khán Gakkh'har, and the accursed Bírbár, and Shaikh Faizí, and Fatḥulláh Sharbatí, and others, in the train of Zín Khán (P. 350). And afterward some days he sent Ḥakím Abu-l-fatḥ and another body of men after the first. And these armies having joined Zín Khán spoiled the Afghán, and showed no remissness in making prisoners of their women and children. And when they came down to a Pass called Karákar, a person brought news to Bírbar, that the Afgháns intended that night to make a sudden attack, and that if they could pass out of that narrow valley, into which they had descended, and which was not more that three or four *cosses* in extent, their minds might be at ease. Night was coming on, when Bírbar through his wilfulness and stupidity and arrogance, without taking counsel with Zín Khán made an ill-timed march, and resolved to pass through the defile. And the whole of this head-less army followed in his track. And, when at evening-tide they reached the narrowest part, the Afgháns appearing in crowds, like ants and locusts, from all sides of the mountains showered down stones and arrows like rain. And in that defile of the district of the cave of death through the narrowness of the way, and the darkness of the night the people lost their way, and in the pits they traversed the valley of death. And being perfectly helpless and separated one from the other, they sustained a great defeat. About 8,000 persons or more were killed. And Bírbar through fear of his life betook himself to flight, and was killed, and so entered the pack of the hell-hounds, and received a portion of the reward of his base deeds. And some of the Amírs and chiefs, such as Ḥasan Khán Paní, and Khwájah 'Arab, the

[1] Our author is playing on the word *Roshanái* which means 'bright.'

Khán Jahán's pay-master, and Mullá Shírí the poet, and a great multitude were killed in that night. And who can number the captives. And the date was found to be given by "*Alas for Khwájah 'Arab*,[1] with one unit too little. Ḥakím Abu-l-fatḥ and Zín Khán were defeated on the fifth of Rabí 'ul-awwál[2] of this year, and with great difficulty escaped to the fortress of Attak. And since (P. 351) they had dared to come after having basely betrayed such a prime favorite as Bírbar, and their treacheries became confirmed, and proved, for some time they were excluded from the Emperor's sight, but afterwards they attained their former rank, nay rather they rose higher than before. He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amír as he did at that of Bírbar. He used to say "Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames"! But afterwards they comforted him with these words: "Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification." And when a rumour arose that the Afgháns were coming against Attak, he sent the prince Murád the next day across the river Indus, and appointed Rájah Todar Mal to accompany him in driving back those rebels. But eventually he recalled his son, and appointed the Rájah to that duty.

In that mountain district he built many forts. In the other direction Mánsingh, who had been appointed to go against the Roshanáís, slew and took prisoners a large body of them.

At this time news arrived that Mír Quraish, the ambassador of 'Abd-ulláh Khán, had arrived with a letter, and that Nazar Bey Uzbek, governor of Balkh, with his three sons had come to do pay homage to the Emperor, because they had quarrelled with the Khán. Consequently he sent Shaikh Farid *Bakhshí*, and a body of the Aḥadís to meet that caravan. And this body of men on their return conducted them through the Khaibar Pass. The Roshanáís seized the road, and attacked them, but were defeated.

[1] ع + 615 + 772 + 98 = 993.

[2] The third month.

On the 25th of Rabí 'ul-awwal of this year, the sun entered Aries, and the thirty-first year of the reign began; but according to Nizámí's reckoning the thirty-second year. And having arranged the public audience-room at Attak the Emperor received on that day Mír Quraish. And Mánsingh (P. 352) came and did homage at that festival. And Shaikh Faizí composed a *qaçídah* of welcome, of which the initial couplet is the following:—

"May the beginning of the second cycle, O Lord!
Come from the Source of Vicegerency a propitious era for fresh conquest."

And let it not be concealed that at this juncture a doubt entered into my mind as to the proper settling of the beginning of the year from the Accession, and the excuse for it has been related above.[1] As a matter of fact the son of the Mírzá, named Muḥammad Sharíf, who investigated the dates in the Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí after the death of his father Mirzá Nizám ud-dín Aḥmad must here be acknowledged as the remover of the error.

At this time Mirzá Sháhrukh, and Rájah Baghwán Dás, and Sháh Qulí Khán Maḥram, who had come to the frontier of Kashmír and reached the Pass of P'hulbás, on account of the arrival of the news of the defeat of Zín Khán, saw the best course of action to lie in pacification. So they made peace with Yúsuf Khán, governor of Kashmír. And the product of the saffron-crop, of the shawl duty, and of the mint they attached to the royal treasury. And having appointed tax-gatherers they gave back the whole country to Yúsuf Khán; and then took him with them to pay his respects to the Court, for he expressed a very strong desire to do so. And when this peace was not accepted by the Emperor, a number of the Amírs were denied access to the Court and forbidden to travel abroad. But afterwards on the day of *Sharaf-i-áftáb* he sent for them and allowed them to prostrate themselves. And also on the day of the Sun's entering Aries the ambassador of 'Abd-ulláh Khán, and Nazar Bey with his children, came and did homage. Four *lacs* of *tankahs* were given to Nazar Bey which is equal to 500 Persian *tumáns*. Here is a copy of the letter of 'Abd-ulláh Khán * * * * * [2]

[1] P. 342 of Text.

[2] The letter seems not to have been inserted.

Ismáíl Qulí Khán and Rái Singh brought the leaders of the Balochís to the Court. Mán Singh was appointed to help Rájah Todar Mal, and so the Emperor's mind became at rest again about that province.

On the 24th of Rabí 'us-sání[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) the Emperor started from Attak for Láhor. And from the banks of the river Behut he sent Ismá'íl Qulí Khán in place of Mán Singh to repulse the Afgháns, and Mán Singh he appointed to the government of Kábul. (P. 353.) And he kept Sayyid Ḥámid of Bokhárá in Pesháwar to help Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and to make a road.

On the 17th of the month Jamáda'-s-sání he arrived at Láhór. Contemporaneously with these events the worthless head of 'Açaf Bahádur, who in the neighbourhood of Bahraich had made war against the servants of Ḥakím Abul-Fatḥ, and was killed, [was brought; at least] most say, that he died by a natural death, and that they cut off his head and brought it to Court. And his head came down rolling from the mountains of Kamáon, and found its resting-place on the pinnacles of the fortress of Láhór. And thus this disturbance was quelled.

On the 19th of the month Rajab[2] the Emperor married the daughter of Rái Singh B'hatta to the Prince Sulṭán Salím.

And at the beginning of the month of Sha'bán[3] Muḥammad Qásim Khán, *Mír-baḥr*, and Fatḥ Khán, the Master of the Elephants, and general, started with a number of the Amírs to conquer Kashmír. When, before this the Emperor had imprisoned Yúsuf Khán Kashmírí, who had come under the safe-conduct of Rájah Baghwán Dás, and wished to have him put to death, Baghwán Dás in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger. But by the advice of Shaikh 'Abd'ur-raḥím the heretic, he gained his point, and eventually in companionship became a partner with him[4]. When the Amírs arrived at the Pass of Katríl,

[1] The fourth month.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] The eighth month.

[4] Probably he means, that Baghwán Dás became as heretical as Shaikh Abd-'ur-raḥím.

Ya'qúb the son of Yúsuf, who had been received among the nobles of the Court, and like Muzaffar of Gujrát had received 30 or 40 rupees a month, and had fled to Kashmír, and on account of his bigotry for the *Shí'áh* heresy had killed the *Sunní* Qází of that place with his own hand, laid schemes for disaffection, and gathered round him the servants of his father, and considered his father as good as dead. He came to oppose the Amírs, and having fortified a defile of the mountain, he took up his portion there with a large force. As he was altogether a bad fellow part of his men left him, and came over to Muḥammed Qásim Khán, and some of them in Srínagar, which is the capital of Kashmír, raised the standard of revolt. Ya'qúb considering (P. 354) it the most important to stop rebellion in his own house returned to the city. And the Imperial army entered into the heart of Kashmír without any one to oppose them. Ya'qúb having no power to resist them flew for refuge to the mountains. Thus the kingdom of Kashmír at one blow came into their power. Again Ya'qúb collected a force and attacked Qásim Khán, but was defeated. Again he made a night-attack, and gained no advantage. And the Mírzádah 'Alí Khán was killed in this battle. And when they had driven him up into a narrow corner, and were on the point of making him prisoner, he came abjectly and had an interview with Qásim Khán, and went with him to do homage to the Emperor. Finally the Emperor sent him before his father to Bihár to Rájah Mán Singh. And Yúsuf and Ya'qúb were both of them imprisoned in the cell of affliction, and by the sickness of melancholy and spleen they were released from the prison of the body.

On the 19th of Ramazan[1] Mír Quraish the ambassador, with Ḥakím Humám, brother of Ḥakím Abul-Fatḥ, and Mír Sadr Jahán the *muftí* of the imperial dominions, an inhabitant of the village Pihání in the district of Qanouj, were despatched to Transoxonia in order to offer condolence to Sikandar Khán, the father of Abd-ulláh Khán. And he sent as a present nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, and all sorts of gifts of the valuable things of Hindústán by the hand of Muḥammad Alí the treasurer.

[1] The ninth month.

In these days the Roshanáís with about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse came against Sayyid Ḥámid of Bokhárá one of the great Amírs of the Sulṭáns of Gujrát. He having withdrawn with the few soldiers that he had, gave battle at Pesháwar, and was killed. And Zín Khán Kokah and Sháh Qulí Khán Maḥram, and Shaikh Fárid *bakhshí* were sent in that direction to repair this disaster. And Mán Singh came out from Kábul with all his force to the Khaibar Pass, and fought a severe battle with the Roshanáís, and defeated them. And there he held his ground. The next day they made a general onslaught throughout the night and day, and shouting like jackals (P. 355) poured their forces down on them from all sides. At this time his brother Mádú Singh, who with Ishmáíl Qulí Khán was at the station of Auhand (?) with a well-appointed army, came to the assistance of Singh, Mánand the Afgháns fled. Nearly 2,000 of them were killed.

At the same time Mirzá Sulaimán who had fought a battle with the Uzbeks in Badakhshán, and been partly victorious and partly defeated, came from Kábul, and had an interview with Mán Singh in the Khaibar Pass. Thence he went to Hindústán, and in the month of Rabí'ul-awwal[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) he paid homage at Láhór.

Among the notable things which happened is the following: Muḥammad Zamán Mírzá, son of Sháh Rukh, in the twelfth year of his age, after his father's defeat in battle with the Uzbeks, had been made prisoner, and 'Abd'ulláh Khán had given him in charge to his own teacher and spiritual guide, Khwájah Kalan Beg Baqshbandí, one of the grandsons of Khwájah Aḥrár (God sanctify his glorious tomb!), intending that he should include him with the other prisoners, and put him to death. And they say that that holy man, punished in his stead a prisoner worthy of death, and set him at liberty and allowed him to depart.

At this time Sulaimán Mírzá arrived at Court in *incognito*, together with some beggars from Transoxiania, and paid homage to the Emperor. He received the sum of 1,000 *ashrafí* as a gratuity.

[1] The third month.

Thence he went on a pilgrimage, and returned to Badakhshán. There he collected a considerable body of men, and fought several times some gallant battles with the Uzbeks, and beat them. At last he gained possession of the mountain district of that country, and collected the spoil. The Emperor sent to him from Láhór by the hand of Mír Tughán an *Aḥadí*[1] 2,000 *ashrafí*, and a bow, and a number of muskets and other valuable presents. For several years he made head against the Uzbeks; but being defeated by them he retired to Kábul. The issue of his affairs will be related further on, if God, He is exalted, will.

On the eleventh of the month Rabí'-us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) the celebration of the Imperial New Year's Day (P. 356), and the commencement of the thirty-second, or according to the Mírzá the thirty-third, year from the Accession took place. And in the manner, which has been before described, the feast was held. And other customs were further introduced. Among them was this, that people should not have more than one legal wife, unless he had no child. In any other case the rule should be one man, and one woman. When a woman had passed the time of hope, and her menses ceased, she should not wish for a husband. And widows, if they wished to marry again, should not be forbidden, as the Hindús forbid[2] re-marriage. Also a Hindú woman of tender years, who could have got no enjoyment from her husband, should not be burnt. But if the Hindús take this ill, and will not be prevented, then in case of the wife of one, who had died, one of the Hindús should take the girl and marry her in that very interview. Another of these customs was, that when the Emperor's disciples met one another one should say "*Alláh Akbar*," and the other should say "*jalla jaláluhu*", and that this was to take the place of "*Salám*" and the response "*Salám*". And another was, that the beginning of the reckoning of the Hindí month should be from the 28th and not from the 13th[3] (which was

[1] For عهدي the Lak'hnou edition has احدي.

[2] Lak'hnou edition reads مي not نمي.

[3] The 'Vrihaspati Mána' makes New Year's Day always fall in the middle of the lunar month "Chait". Princep, *Ind. Ant.* ii. 155.

the invention of Rájah Bikramájít, and an innovation of his), and that they should fix the well-known festivals of the Hindús according to this rule. But it never attained currency, although *farmáns* went forth to this effect from Futḥpúr to Gujrát on one side, and Bengál on the other. Another was that they were to prohibit the basest people from learning science in the cities, because insurrections often arose from these people. Another was that a learned Bráhman should decide the case of Hindús, and not a Qází of the Musalmáns. And that if there was any need of an oath, they were to put a red-hot iron into the hand of the denier, if he was burnt, he was to be known as a liar, but if not, he should be acknowledged as speaking the truth. Or else that he should put his hand into boiling oil; or that, while they shot an arrow and brought it back, he should dive into the water, and if he put his head out of the water before they returned, the defendant should satisfy the claims of the plaintiff. Another was that they should bury a man with his head towards the East and his feet to the West (P. 357): and he always fixed his own going to sleep in this manner.

In this year the Emperor sent 'Abd'ul-Maṭlab Khán to Bangash with a body of men to extirpate the Jalálah Táríkí[1]. And he defeated him together with the leaders of Afghán tribes, and slew an innumerable number of people, and in retaliation for each prisoner taken from Zín Khán's army he took them men and women to double (and quadruple) the number. And the wrath of God, which is a sore[2] calamity, ensued on the slaughter and capture of these people.[3]

And in this year, which was nine hundred and ninety-five, the birth of Sulṭán Khusrau, son of the Prince Sulṭán Salím by the daughter of Rájah Baghván Dáa, took place: and the Emperor gave a great feast.

And among lying rumours, which are one step beyond absolute impossibilities, the report was this year promulgated that the accursed Bírbar was still alive; after that he was safely located in the lowest

[1] *I. e*, Roushanáí. See p. 361, note.

[2] Lak'hnau has عالا instead fo غالا.

[3] 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab went mad soon after. Blochm. p. 403.

grade of Hell. The following is a summary of the matter. When the malignant Hindús perceived that the inclination of the heart of the Emperor was fixed on that unclean one, and saw that through his loss he was in trouble and distress, every day they circulated a rumour, that people had seen him at Nagarkót, in the northern hills, in company with Jogís and Sannyásís ; and that he was walking about. And His Highness believed, that it was not improbable that a cat[1] like him, who had become detached from the attractions of the world, should have assumed the garb of a *faqír*, and on account of shame for the misfortune he had sustained at the hands of the Yusufzáís should not have returned to Court. And the foolish people of the Court believed this report, and told all sorts of stories about him in Láhór. But after that an Aḥadí had gone to Nagarkót and investigated the matter, it turned out that this report was nothing but an idle tale.

And after this they heard that he had appeared at the castle of Kálinjár, which had been in that dog's *jagír*. And the Collectors of Kálinjár sent a written report to this effect : " when they were anointing him with oil[2] a barber, who was a confidant of his, recognized him by certain marks on his body, (P. 358), then he vanished." The Emperor sent a *farmán*.[3] The Hindú *Krorí* deceitfully took a certain poor traveller, who had been condemned to death, and treating him as Bír Bar kept him concealed. And he did not send the barber, but in order to keep the matter secret he made away with the poor traveller, and wrote that he was Bír Bar, but that death had overtaken him before he had attained the felicity of coming to Court. The Emperor mourned for him a second time. He sent for the Krorí, and others, and kept them for some time in the stocks as a punishment for not having told him before ; and on this pretext the Emperor got a good deal of money from him.

In this year Çádiq Khán having gone against the district of

[1] *Billí* is Hindí, Sanskr. *viḍálí*. The reference is again to that story in the Anwár-i Sohailí, *ed.* Ouseley, pp. 274 *sqq*.

[2] *Tél* or *tail* Hindí and Sanscrit.

[3] That the barber should come to Court.

Tattah, laid seige to the fort Síhwán, and Mírzá Jání Beg, grandson of Muḥammad Báqí Tarkhán, who was commandant of that place, as his fathers had done, sent ambassadors, gifts and valuable presents to the Court. Eventually on the 25th of Zí-Qa'dah[1] the Emperor sent Ain-ul-mulk back with the ambassadors, and confirmed the government on Mirzá Jání, and issued a *farmán* to forbid Çádiq Khán to molest him.

At the beginning of Rábí'us-saní Zín Khán Kokah was appointed to be governor of Kábul, and Mán Singh was sent for from that place. At the end of this month the Khán Khánán, Mirzá Khán, came from Gujrát with that paragon of the age Sháh Fatḥ Ulláh of Shíráz, who was called Azd-ud-daulat, in haste to Láhór. And on the 27th of the month Rajab[2] Çádiq Khán came from Bakkar.

A summary of the affairs of Muzaffar and the Khán Khánan is as follows: Muzaffar after his second defeat at Nádot fled, by way of Chanpánír, to the district of Súrat, and took up his abode at Kundal,[3] which is 15 *cosses* from Chúnagar and 3,000 scattered horsemen rallied round him. And he sent a lac of *Maḥmúdís* and a jewelled dagger and girdle to *Amín* (P. 359) Khán, and so won him over to his side. And the same sum of money he sent to the Jám, who had a fixed idea in his mind of conquering Aḥmdádád, and so excited his cupidity. Amín Khán with the finest *finesse* sent him[4] deceitfully to the Jám, Satarsál by name, telling him "You go with the Jám, and I will come after you." But the Jám, playing his cards well, kept him from his purpose, and delayed his own movements on the pretext of fitting out his army. Muzaffar arrived at a place six *cosses* from Aḥmadábád and there waited for the fulfilment of the promise of Amín Khán Ghórí, and the Jám, while the Khán Khánán came in great haste with a strong body of men. And Muzaffar despairing of the help of the faithless[5] Amín,

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] Text 333, 7 *infra*.
[4] Muzaffar.
[5] Punning on his name.

and the slippery Jám,[1] returned in confusion to the mountain district, and took refuge in Dwárká, which is the name of the capital of Súrat. And the Jám sent his *Wakíl*, and Amín Khán his son, through the intervention of Sháh Abu Turáb, to the Khán Khánán. The men of the Jám took a band of men for the Khán Khánán into the hill country, and there they seized a great deal of spoil. And Muzaffar with 1,000 horsemen, consisting of Moghuls and Kátís,[2] who were the clan of his mother, went towards Gujrát. He took refuge in a place called Ásniyah, which is situated on the bank of the river Sárbarmatí and is very much delapidated, and is in rebellion from the kingdom of Kúlyán (?). And some Amírs, whom the Khán Khánán by way of precaution, at the time of his going into these dangerous districts, had left for this very emergency, under the command of Sayyid Khán Bárha fought a great battle, and Muzaffar[3] found his name deceptive. And his elephants and parasol fell into the hands of the people of the sun[4], and many of his people were killed. He himself fled to Kátíwár, which is outside the dependencies of Gujrát. The Khán Khánán returned from Barodah, and went against the Jám. The Jám, on the other hand, collected a force of 8,000 horse (P. 360), and 2,000 of his servants (they say), who had forsworn food, and sworn to die for him, came out to meet him. When a distance of 7 *cosses* remained the Jám sent his own son with three elephants, and eighteen Kachí horses, which are like Arabs, and other presents to the Khán Khánán, and tendered his submission.

At this time it was that the Khán Khánán went for the first[5] time in haste in accordance with a *farmán* to Fatḥpúr. And Muzaffar during his absence with the help of the Kátis and other *zamíndárs*, laid seige to the fortress of Chúnágaṛh. Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and Sayyid Qásim Bárhah, with a body of men, by command of Qulíj Khán went from Aḥmadábád towards Súrat, and Muzaffar

[1] Means "cup." Another pun.

[2] *Káthi*. The name of a tribe inhabiting *Káthíwár*. Wilson's *Gloss.*

[3] Victorious.

[4] Akbar was a great sun-worshipper, see p. 268.

[5] The second time is mentioned, p. 373.

not being able to withstand them went towards Gujrát, as has been described before.

After that the Khán Khánán arrived at Aḥmadábád by way of Sarohí and Jálwar, the Emperor appointed Sháh Fatḥ ulláh Azd-ud-doulah, together with Mír Murtazá and Khudáwand Khán, to govern the district of Barár, and sent them in the escort of A'zam Khán and Shiháb-ud-din Aḥmad Khán and the other Amírs of Málwah and Ráísín, and wrote a *farmán* to the fief-holders of that neighbourhood, whose names cannot be enumerated, to this effect: that they should first take Barár, under the leadership of A'zam Khán, out of the possession of the Dak'hinís, and afterwards should march in concert on Aḥmadnagar. These armies were collected at Hindia, which is on the confines of the Dak'hin, and behaved treacherously to one another. And A'zam Khán gave vent to an old grudge which he had against Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán for the murder of his father, of which he was the instigator, and vexing him and Azd-ud-doulah, who was his factotum, he heaped abuse &c. upon him in every assembly, and in spite of the respect due to a teacher made unusual jokes against 'Azd-ud-doulah, till Shiháb-uddín Khán went with a vexed heart to Ráísín, which (P. 361) was his *jágír*. A'zam Khán went against him, and nearly brought a great disgrace on the reputation of the Empire. And Khwájagí Fatḥullah *bakhshí* and other upstarts stirred up the flames of strife, and confusion, but through the good offices of Azd-ud-doulah it all ended well. Meanwhile Rájah 'Alí Khán, governor of A'sír and Burhánpúr, looking on the quarrel in the imperial army as a boon to himself, united the army of Dak'hin with his own, and marched against them. 'Azd-ud-doulah went to him and gave him good advice, but he could make no impression on his anvil-like heart:—

"An iron nail will not penetrate a stone."

So he returned thence, and came to Gujrát, to stir up the Khán Khánán to the conquest of the Dak'hin, and bring him with him:—

"You have managed the affairs of the world so well,
That you now turn your hand to the affairs of heaven."

And Rájah 'Alí Khán with the army of the Dak'hin marched against A'zam Khán, who had not the power to withstand him, and so retreated to Barár. Neither could he stand his ground there, and so having ravaged and laid waste Ilichpúr and not remaining even there, he hastened to Nadarbár. The Dak'hinís pursued him from station to station. A'zam Khán left his army at Nadarbár, and went alone with only a few men to Aḥmadábád to ask help of the Khán Khánán, who was his sister's husband. The Khán Khánán came out to meet him, and they had an interview at Maḥmúdábád at the house of Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad. And having by mutual consent, or by hypocrisy, made common cause, they agreed that Khán-i-A'zam with the Khán Khánán should go to Aḥmadábád to see his sister, and that thence they should set out to repel the Dak'hinís. And they sent Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad with a number of the Amírs, who were appointed to that district, to go together to Barodah, and those two (P. 362) leaders followed him thither. And thence A'zam Khán went in haste to Nadarbár to collect his army, and the Khán Khánan went to Behroṇch. A'zam Khán wrote to him, that since the rainy season was at hand they must keep the army for that year in camp. A'zam Khán went from Nadarbár to Málwah and the Khán Khánán from Behroṇch to Aḥmadábád, and Rájah 'Alí Khán and the Dak'hinís went to their own homes again. Five months had passed since this event, when the Khán Khánán sent from Atak Banáras, which he also called Atak Katak[1], a petition to Court in the following terms: "Since the Emperor has determined to attempt the conquest of Badakhshán, the desire to kiss his feet has possessed me, in order that I may accompany him in this expedition." And after the army came from Atak to Láhór a *farmán* was addressed to him, ordering that Qulíj Khán and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad should remain in Gujrát, and that the Khán Khánán should come to Court. This was the cause of the Khán Khánán's coming a second time in haste to Láhór, and of his bringing Azd-ud-doulah, as has been already related. During the time of the Khán Khánán's absence the most praiseworthy efforts were

[1] Lak'hnou lithograph has *Gang*.
Viz. to see the Emperor, the first time is mentioned, p 371.

made by Nizám-ud-dín in Gujrát, which are related at length in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí.*

And in this year Mír Abu-l-Ghays of Bokhára, whose praise is beyond the power of the tongue or the pen :—

"How can the description of his praise be made
By a pen more broken than my heart,"

died at Láhór of an attack of cholic. This sacred bier was brought to Dihlí and buried in the *Rouzah-i A'bá-i-kirám*, and the date was found to be given by "The Mír of praiseworthy disposition[1] ":—(By the Author)

"I went into his cemetry one day to take warning,
I saw a world of sleepers together in its plain.
[P. 363] A multitude had gone from this side, but none returned from that,
That I could ask of his state, or news of us reach him.
In that city of the silent there was a multitude of my eloquent ones,
Gone from the palace of the world to become its guests.
Of that number was one pure-natured prince, like Buturáb[2]
Abu-Ghais, whom the Heaven calls a Gous,[3] the pivot of the sky.
Alas ! for my lord of worthy disposition, and of as happy fortune,
The nature of Muḥammad was manifest in his smiling face.
A Bokhárái through whom Dihlí became the *Qubbat-ul-Islám* :[4]
What is become of that Qubbah, and that Islám, and where O God ! is its Musalmán ?

[1] 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.

[2] A title of 'Alí.

[3] One of the 7 *Abdál*, mysterious beings which hover round the world.

[4] A title of Basrah, a great place for learned men.

Since he was a derwish as well as a soldier, if I should meet with the dust of his feet,
I would put it on the eye of my fortune, as though it were collyrium of Ispahán.
At his pillow from the candle of my own heart I burnt a taper,
Although the light of his poverty was a divine torch.
I made the bed of his tomb wet with my tears,
Although the cloud of Mercy washed him with the rain of Forgiveness."

In this year a new command was issued that all people should give up the Arabic sciences, and should study only the really useful ones, *viz.*, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, and Philosophy. The date of this given by the words "Decline of Learning[1]."

And in Sha'bán of the said year Mán Singh came to Court. News also came that Abd-ulláh Khán had taken Harí[2], and slain 'Alí Qulí Khán, commandant of that place, together with an immense number of Turkománs and inhabitants of the town, and "the taking of Harí[3]" was found to give the date.

In the month Muḥarram[4] of the year nine hundred and (P. 364) ninety-six (996) Mán Singh was appointed to the government of the districts of Bahár, Hájípúr, and Patnah. And on the night of the tenth of this month having offered to him, together with the Khán Khánán, the cup of friendship, His Majesty brought up the subjects of "Discipleship," and proceeded to test Mán Singh. He said without any ceremony: "If Discipleship means willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have already carried my life in my hand: what need is there of further proof? If, however, the term has another meaning and refers to Faith, I certainly am a Hindú. If you order me to do so, I will become a Musalmán, but I know not of the existence of any other religion than these two." At this point the matter stopped, and the Emperor did not question him any further, but sent him to Bengál.

[1] 20 + 60 + 4 + 80 + 30 + 880 = 995.

[2] Another name for Harát.

[3] 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 + 5 + 200 + 10 = 995.

[4] The first month.

At this time he gave the government of Kashmír to Yúsuf Khán Razawí of Mashhad, and sent for Muḥammad Qásim Khán from that place.

On the twelfth of Çafar[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-six (996) he sent Muḥammad Çádiq Khán to expel Yúsuf Záí from Sawád-u-Bajór[2], and he gave the *jágír* of Mán Singh, consisting of Sawálikát[3] &c. to him. And he sent for Isma'íl Qulí Khán from Sawád-u-Bajór, and appointed him to supersede Qulíj in Gujrát.

In this month Mírzá Fúlád Beg Barlás managed to get Mullá Aḥmad the Shi'ah, on some pretext, out of his house at midnight and killed him, because he had reviled the Companions of the Prophet, and "Bravo! the dagger of Steel"[4] gives the date, and another suggested "Hell-fire Pig.[5]" And verily when he was at his last breath I saw his face look actually like that of a pig[6], and other persons also observed this phenomenon, God preserve us from the wickedness of our souls! They bound Mírzá Fúlád to the foot of an elephant and dragged him through the streets of Láhor, until at last he attained the grade of martyrdom. When the Emperor sent by Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and asked him: "Can zeal for the faith have been the motive of your killing Mullá Aḥmad?" (P. 365) He answered, "If zeal for religion had been my motive, I should have turned my hand against a greater one than he." He brought back this answer to the Emperor, and said, "This fellow is a regular scoundrel, he ought not to be allowed to live." So the Emperor ordered him to be put to death; although on account of his bravery, and the intercession of the people of the harem he wished to spare his life. The murdered man went to his own place three or four days after his murderer. The Shi'ahs at the time of washing the corpse, are said to have, according to the rules of their sect, put a nail into his arms, and plunged him several times into the

[1] The second month.

[2] Text, p. 349, l. 2, and 381.

[3] Called in the maps Sealcot.

[4] 7 + 5 + 10 + 600 + 50 + 3 + 200 + 80 + 6 + 31 + 4 = 996.

[5] 600 + 6 + 20 + 60 + 100 + 200 + 10 = 996.

[6] See *Blochm.* p. 206, *n.* 2.

river[1]. After his burial Shaikh Faizí and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl set guards over his grave, bnt in spite of all precaution in the year when His Majesty went to Kashmír the people of Láhor one night took up his gross carcass, and burnt it.

On the twenty-second of Rabí-us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-six the New Year's day of the thirty-third, or thirty-fourth, year from the Accession took place. The Emperor, in order to beguile the common people, had the public audience-hall which consists of one hundred and fourteen porticos, decorated with all sorts of ornamentations, such as valuable stuffs and embroidered curtains. And all sorts of edicts contrary to the Law were issued, and "Publication of Heresy[2]" gives the date.

At this time Qulíj Khán came from Gujrát to pay homage, and brought all sorts of presents. And a command was issued, that he in conjunction with Rájah Todar Mall (who had become a very imbecile old man, and whom one night about this time a rival had lain in wait for, and wounded with his sword, and grazed his skin) should conduct the administrative and financial concerns of the Empire. In this year the Rájah of Kamáún, who had never, nor his father or grandfather before him, (God's curse be on them !) seen an Emperor even in imagination, came from the Sawálik hills to pay his homage to the Emperor at Láhor. He brought all sorts of rare presents, amongst which were a Yak, and a Musk-deer, which through (P. 366) the heat of the atmosphere died on the way. I saw it, and it was in form like a fox, and two small tusks prejected in front, and instead of horns it had an elevation, but since the lower half was wrapped up, it could not be seen. They said also that there were men in that country, who had wings and feathers, and could fly; and also in that kingdom a mango-tree which gives fruit all the year round. They told the tale, but God knows if it is true !

In these days Ḥakím Ayn-ul-mulk arrived with the ambassadors of Mírzá Jání[3], and brought all sorts of presents, and became the recipient of His Majesty's kindness.

[1] See *Blochm.* p. 207, *n.* 1.

[2] 300 + 10 + 6 + 70 + 40 + 70 + 80 + 10 + 10 + 400 = 996 معصیت is spelt with only one ي but to make the date right it must be written with *tashdíd*.

[3] See p. 370.

In the month Jamáda'-l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven (997) I finished the translation of the Rámayaṇa, which had taken me four years. I wrote it all in couplets, and brought it to the Emperor. When I wrote at the end of it the couplet :—

"We have written a story, who will bring it to the Emperor?
We have burnt our soul, who will bring it to the Beloved?"

it was much admired. The Emperor asked me, "How many sheets does it contain?" I answered, "The first time, when written concisely it reached nearly 70 sheets, but the second time, when written more at length, it was 120 sheets." He commanded me to write a preface to it, after the manner of authors. But since it was no such great recovery from my former falling out of favour, and a *khutbah* would have to be written without praising God and the Prophet, I dissimulated. And from that black book, which is naught like the book of my life, I flee to God for refuge. The transcription of atheism is not atheism, and I repeat the declaration of faith in opposition to heresy, why should I fear (which God forbid!) that a book, which was all written against the grain, and in accordance with a strict command, should bring with it a curse. O God! I verily take refuge in Thee from associating anything with Thee, and I know, and I beg thy forgiveness for that which I know not, and I repent of it, and say: "There is no God but Alláh, and Muḥammad is the Prophet of Alláh". And thus my penitence is no penitence caused by fear. May it be accepted at the Court of The Gracious and Liberal!

At this time they brought an imposter Shaikh Kamál Bayání by name (P. 367) from the banks of the river Ráwí and affirmed that in the midst of conversation he had in the twinkling of an eye gone over to the other side and called out "So and so go home!" So the Emperor took him privately to the banks of a river and said: "We are fond of investigating this sort of thing. If you can show us this miracle, all the wealth and dominions that we possess are yours, and we will become your property." When he made no sort of answer, the Emperor said: "Very well then we will bind you hand and foot, and cast you from the top of the Castle. If you come out of the water safe and sound, well and good, if not,

you will have gone to hell". Being brought to bay he pointed to his stomach and said: "I have done all this merely for the sake of filling this hell of my own!" The impostor had a cunning son, who lived at Láhor. While he was speaking, his son at the time of evening prayer, went to the other side of the river, and using the name of the person addressed, shouted out in a voice like that of his father: "So and so go!", while the impostor on the pretence of performing the ablutions had gone down to the edge of the river and hidden himself in the stream. Another time, when the Emperor had sent him to Bakkar, he there also set up a claim to working miracles, and performed in the presence of the Khán Khánán, and Doulat Khán, his *wakíl*, a hundred similar wonders. On Thursday evenings, dressed as a juggler, he used to show a hand, and head, and foot, all separated.[1]

He made Doulat Khán Afghán, who was the Khán Khánán's factotum and *âme damnée* his disciple:—

"A common person, if raised in rank above the sky,
Is but a common ass, and he that believes in him is less than an ass."

The Khán Khánán also became a believer, and swallowed the deception. And that cunning lad, having taken a golden ball from the Khán Khánán for the sake of that impostor of a Shaikh, said: "Elijah (peace be on him!) has sent you a request, and requires this ball in the water. By deceit and fraud he threw a brazen ball into the water in the sight of the Khán Khánán, and the golden ball (P. 368) he carried off by his trickery."

In this year the Emperor called to mind my gift of the book, which I was translating, and one day he ordered Abú'l-Fatḥ to give me a shawl from the privy wardrobe, and a horse and my expenses. Then he said to Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh 'Azd-ud-doulah: "the whole of Basáwar is hereby given to you as *jágír*, with all its charity-lands," and mentioning my name he said, "There is a certain man of *Bádáón*, we have of our own will changed his *madad-ma'ásh* without abatement from Basáwar to Badáón.

[1] See Price's Memoirs of Jahangueir, p. 99.

Sháh Fatḥ-ullah presented in a bag an offering of 1000 rupees, which by oppression and secret false accusations he had tyrannously exacted from the wretched widows and orphans of the *aimah*-holders of Basáwar, saying that his collectors had saved it from the charity-lands. The Emperor made him a present of it. Not three months elapsed after this event, when Sháh Fatḥ-ullah died.

When my *farmán* was signed, I took a year's leave, and went first to Basáwar and then to Badáón. Thence I had in my mind to go to Gujrát to see Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, but adverse circumstances occurred, which prevented my carrying this intention into effect :—

"I am not vexed that my affair
Turns out not well, but ill,
If it happen, let it happen ; if not, acquiesce,
[Who knows] what will happen ! "

In this year Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán *Chougán Begí*, and Mirzádah 'Alí Khán, who were of the most esteemed Amírs, died in Kashmír in the following circumstances. Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán on the twelfth of the month Rabí' ul-awwál[1] cooked some food in the name of the Soul of the Prophet (God bless him, and his family, and give them peace !), and gave some gold to the poor, and having sincerely repented of his sins went out hunting with Mírzá Yúsuf Khán, and caught a fever, and gave up his soul to the Beloved. And Mirzádah 'Alí Khán, was killed one year before (P. 369) thus, on the night when Ya'qúb made a sudden attack on Muḥammad Qásim Khán :—

Alas ! for the friends of spiritual insight,
With whom we were but a short time together.
Alas ! for our friends of earthy composition,
Who have left this dust-heap like the wind.
Alas ! that this blood-weeping eye of mine,
Sees not now a trace of them.

[1] The third month.

They spake for a little while, they are now silent,
They are vanished from the memory of their friends.
Of all those consolers not one remains,
I and grief are left, for all my friends are gone.
How shall I lay my drowsy head on the pillow,
When my friends have made their pillow on the clay.
My heart desires the corner of solitude,
I have no desire for the companionship of any one.
Alas! that those, who now sit behind the veil of secrets,
Are not gone to a place whence they can return.
When in confusion on that bed of sorrow
I fell like clay, and settled like dust,
Over that mortal-clay I raised many a cry:
To my ear no answer came from any.

On the twenty-second of Jamáda'-s-sání[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven the Emperor set out from Kábul for Kashmír, which he called his private garden. He left the ladies of his *ḥaram* with the young prince Sulṭán Murád at Bhimbar, where the road to Kashmír begins, and went on by forced marches. When he had visited that beautiful country, he sent a *farmán* to the Prince ordering him the take the *ḥaram* on to Rohtás and there await the Emperor's arrival.

At this time that wonder of the age Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh of Shíráz developed a burning fever in Kashmír, and since he was himself a skilled physician, he treated himself by eating pottage, and however much the Ḥakím 'Alí forbade it, he would not be prevented. So the exactor Death seized his collar and dragged him off to the eternal world. He was buried on Takht-i-Sulaimán, which is a mountain near (P. 370) one of the cities[2] of Kashmír, by the side of the tomb of Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Khán Chougán Begí. And that king of poets Shaikh Faizí wrote as an elegy on him a *tarkíbband*,[3] of which the following verses form a part :—

[1] The sixth month.

[2] *Viz.*, Srínagar, *i. e.*, Kashmír the Capital.

[3] See Gladwin's *Dissertations, &c.*, p. 30.

"Again that time is come when the world falls out of gear,
On the world of Intellect at midday the banner of evening falls.
All the treasures of property fall into the hands of the base,
All the flood-tears of adversity fall into the cup of the generous.
Truth loses the clue of the investigation of its object,
Meaning deserts eloquence, and logic falls out of speech.
The tongue of folly wags heedlessly in talk,
Propositions are falsely stated, and proofs are inconclusive.
The heart of those who in the world seek perfection remains in eternal defect,
Like unripe fruit which falls suddenly half-ripened from the branch.
The spiritual child of the precious mothers[1] of excellence
Was the father of the fathers of spiritual insight, Sháh Fatḥ-ullah Shírází,
Two hundred Bu-naçars[2] and Bu-'alís[3] passed away before he appeared.
Many a dealer of this kind does Fate hold beneath its shop.
Sometimes with the camel-litter of the Peripatetics he went round the world,
Sometimes in the train of the Platonists he traversed the heavens.
The age was proud of his perfect nature,
In the time of Jalál-ud-dín Akbar Ghází.
The Emperor of the world had his eyes full of tears at his death,
(P. 381) Alexander wept tears of regret because Plato left the world!"

On the twenty-seventh of Ramazán[4] of this year the Emperor intending to go to Kábúl went by way of Pak'hlí to the fortress of Atak. During this journey Ḥakím Abu-l-fatḥ died at the halting-place of Damtúr,[5] and was buried in Ḥusn Abdál:—

[1] In امهات and آبا there seems to be an indirect reference to the "four elements" and the "nine heavens."

[2] A name of Al-Fáryábí a great Arabic Doctor who died 343 A. H.

[3] A name of Ibn Sina (Avecenna) who died 428 A. H.

[4] The ninth month.

[5] See Blochm. p. 524.

"The caravan of the Martyr has passed on before;
Consider ours too as past, and reflect.
To outward reckoning we have lost but one body,
But in the reckoning of the Intellect more than thousands."

And "May God give him his reward"[1] was found to give the date.

And outside of Atak, where the camp was, the Prince with the *ḥaram* met the Emperor. From this halting-place Shahbáz Khán was appointed to go and repel the remnant of the Yusúfzái Afgháns. On the twenty-second of Zí-qa'dah[2] of this year the Emperor arrived in Kábul. At this time Ḥakím Hamám and Çadr Jahán returned from being with Abd'ulláh Khán, and brought a book of 'Abd-ulláh Khán's treating of Union and Conjunction.

In the year nine hundred and ninety-eight Rájah Todar Mal, and Rájah Baghwán Dás *Amír-ul-umará*, who had remained behind at Láhor hastened to the abode of hell and torment, and in the lowest pit became the food of beasts and scorpions, may God scorch them both! And they found the *mnemosynon*: "One said: *Todar and Baghwán died*;"[3] and another made these verses on him:—

"Todar Mal was he, whose tyranny had oppressed the world,
When he went to Hell, people became merry.
I asked the date of his decease from the Old Man of Intellect:
Cheerfully replied the wise Old Man: *He is gone to Hell.*[4]

(P. 372). On the twentieth of Muḥarram of the year nine hundred and ninety-eight (998) having assigned the government of Kábul to Muḥammad Qásim Khán, Commander-in-chief by land and sea, the Emperor returned towards Hindústán. He appointed A'zam Khán

[1] 600 + 4 + 1 + 10 + 300 + 60 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 4 = 997.

[2] The eleventh month.

[3] 2 + 5 + 20 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 40 + 200 + 4 + 50 + 4 = 998.

[4] 6 + 10 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 204 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 40 = 998.

to the government of Gujrát, and sent a *farmán* ordering him to remove from Málwah to that place, and sent for Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad to return to Court. He gave Jounpúr to the Khán Khánán instead of Gujrát, and Málwah was given to Shiháb Khán. And A'zam Khán to spite Shiháb Khán laid Málwah waste, and levelled it all to the ground.

At this time Khudáwand of the Dak'hin, the heretic, to whom the sister of Abu-l-Fazl had been married in accordance with the Emperor's command, and who had received the town of Karí in the district of Gujrát, went to the abode of Hell. And the *mnemosynon* was found: "Khudáwand of the Dak'hin is dead.[1]"

And on the fourteenth of Jamáda-l-awwál of the aforesaid year the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which began the thirty-fifth year from the Accession, took place. And the Emperor sent orders for the decoration and reparation of the Díwánkhánah of Láhor, and on the second day of *Nouróz* that city became the royal camping-place. And on the third day Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad having travelled six hundred *cosses* in twelve days, with a body of camel-riders, arrived and did homage. The Emperor ordered that all the camel-riders should enter the city just as they had arrived; and it was a wonderful sight, and led to boundless favours from the Emperor.

At this time, after the death of Baghwán Dás, the Emperor gave to Mán Singh the title of Rájah, and sent him a *farmán* of condolence, in which were written kind and gracious messages beyond all bounds, and sent with it one of his own dresses of honour, and a body-guardsman's horse. And on the day of the "Honouring of the Sun" the compiler of this epitome came from Badáún to Court, and met Mírzá Nízám-ud-dín Aḥmad after a separation of seven years.

(P. 373). In this year A'zam Khán went from Gujrát to conquer the countries of Súrat and Júnágaṛh. And the Jám Satr Sál, and Doulat Khán the son of Amín Khán Ghorí, who had succeeded his

[1] Read دكهن instead of دكهني and we get the correct date, *viz.*, 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 50 + 4 + 4 + 20 + 55 + 40 + 200 + 14 = 998.

[2] The fifth month.

father, being beguiled by temerity and the number of his retinue, came to meet him with a body of men amounting to nearly twenty thousand, and a great battle took place :—

"Though that army be as numerous as ants or locusts,
The ant will be killed when it falls on the road."

A'zam Khán divided his army into seven sections, and fought such a battle that anything approaching it has never been described. Khwájah Rafí' Badakhshí leader of the left wing, who was a youth distinguished for his valour and courage, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, who was one of the old Amírs, attained the felicity of martyrdom. And of the division of the vanguard Sháh Sharaf-ud-dín, brother's son to Abu Turáb, was also martyred. And of the infidels four thousand men went to Hell in the company of the son of the Jám, who was his father's vicegerent :—

"The stock which was drunk through the passing of the *cup*,[1]
Behold now it is desolate and with his cup broken ![2]
The king of the world is drunk with the joy of wine,
Because the Jám is come into the king's hand."

This victory took place on the first day of the week, the sixth of Shawwál[3] of the year nine hundred and ninety-eight (998), and Shaikh Faizí found the date to be given by "A glorious victory."[4]

In this year at Aḥmadábád that Pattern of learned and profound sages, the author of comprehensive works, the wise unto God, Shaikh Wajíh-ud-dín answered, "*Adsum*" to God's lictor's call, and "*Shaikh Wajíh dín*" was found to give the date :[5]

[1] There is a pun on the name *Jám* which also means "Cup"; also on *daur* "passing" and "age."

[2] That is, has broken up the assembly.

[3] The tenth month.

[4] 80 + 400 + 6 + 8 + 1 + 400 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 10 = 999, which in one too many.

[5] 300 + 10 + 600 + 6 + 3 + 10 + 5 + 4 + 10 + 50 = 998.

"May God have mercy on him, abundant mercy!"

In this year too Shaikh Cháyan Ladah[1] successor to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-azíz of Dihlí, who was the chief orthodox religious teacher in the town of Síhnah (P. 374) departed this life, and one of his pupils found the date "Truth of religious poverty."[2]

At this time the Emperor took away Jounpúr from the Khán Khánán and gave him the government of Multán and Bakkar, and appointed him to subdue the kingdoms of Sind and Balúchistán, and to settle the hash of Mírzá Jání. And in the month Rabí'us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine (999) the Emperor despatched to that quarter the Khán Khánán, with a number of renowned Amírs, such as Sháh Bég Khán, and Sayyid Bihá-ud-dín Bokhárí and Mír Muḥammad Ma'çúm Bakkarí and others, and a hundred elephants with them. And the prince of poets Shaikh Faizí found the date "On for Tatah!"[3]

In this year came from Málwah the news of the death of Shiháb-ud dín Khán, and "I am Shiháb Khán"[4] was found to give the date; and another was "Base of disposition."[5]

At this time the Emperor ordered them to rewrite in any easy style the history of Kashmír, which Mullá Sháh Muḥammad of Sháhábád, who was a learned man, and a collector of all learning from both traditional and logical sources, had translated according to orders into Persian. I made a compendium in the course of two months, and wrote this verse at the end of it:—

"In the course of one or two months,
In accordance with the Sháh's command,
This book was written in black,
Like the down on the cheeks of the fair."

[1] Our author in Vol. III, p. 110 says that Ladah Suhnah is a town about 18 *cosses* from Dihli.

[2] 8 + 100 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 80 + 100 + 200 = 998.

[3] 100 + 90 + 4 + 800 + 5 = 999.

[4] 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 600 + 1 + 50 + 40 = 999.

[5] 700 + 40 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 6 + 90 + 1 + 80 = 999.

presented it, and it was put into the Imperial library, and it is read as a sample.

In this year Shaikh Ibráhim Chishtí died a natural death at Fatḥpúr, and having bid adieu to a world of wealth, went to give an account of it to his Creator. Of all this a sum of twenty-five *krors* of ready money together with elephants and horses and other chattels were appropriated by the Imperial treasury, and the remainder became the portion of his enemies, who were his sons and his agents. And since he was noted and notorious for avarice and vice, and was accursed, "Base of disposition"[1] (P. 375), and "Vile Shaikh"[2] became the *mnemosynon* of his death.

In this year many of the chief men of Láhór died. Of this number were Khanjarí Turk, who died of emerods; and Shaikh Aḥmad the younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥím by a fatal accident with an elephant; and Mullá 'Urfí of Shíráz, the celebrated poet, of an ordinary[3] bodily ailment. And at the moment of departing he uttered the Rubá'í:—

"Urfí! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated,
After all of what value are the goods thou hast packed?
To-morrow the Friend with the ready-money of Paradise in his [hand
Will ask for your wares, and thou wilt have an empty hand."

And since he had said a great many impolite words against the doctors, both ancient and modern, they found out this *mnemosynon* for his death:—

Said "*Urfí: O Death thou art but a young hand:*"[4]
And another "Enemy of God."[5]

[1] See above, p. 336, *n.* 5.

[2] 300 + 10 + 600 + 30 + 10 + 40 = 1000, one too many.

[3] Punning on his name.

[4] 70 + 200 + 80 + 10 + 3 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 40 + 200 × 20 + 300 + 44 + 10 = 999.

[5] 4 + 300 + 40 + 50 + 600 + 4 + 1 = 999.

At this time Ḥakím Hamám praised the book *Mu'jam-ul-buldán*[1], which is comprised in some two hundred sheets, and represented to the Emperor that it should be translated from the Arabic into Persian, since it contained a host of strange stories and wonderful sources of profit. Accordingly he assembled ten or twelve men of learning, both Persian and Indian, and apportioned the book among them, and the amount of ten sheets fell to my portion. I translated it in the course of one month, and presenting it before any of the others, made it an excuse for asking leave to go to Badáún, and it was accepted.

On the twenty-fourth of the month Jamáda'l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine the Assembly of the New Year was arranged as in former years. This was the beginning of the twenty-sixth year from the Accession. And among the different edicts, which were fixed in this year, is the forbidding of (P. 376) flesh of cows and buffaloes and sheep and horses and camels. Another was that, if a Hindú woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced against her will. And that they should not circumcise a boy before twelve years of age, and then he could choose for himself, whether it should be done or no.

And another was that if any one should eat with a butcher they should cut off his hand, but if he belonged to the butcher's relatives, they should cut off only his little finger.

In this year Ḥají Mirzá Bég Kábulí, who had gone to 'Alí Ráí, ruler of Little Tibet, brought his daughter and married her to the eldest prince.

And[2] a treatise was written concerning the manners and customs, and religious sects of those people from the account of Mírzá Beg, and Mullá Ṭálib Içfahání, who had gone there a second time as ambassador. Those who wish for a full account had better refer to the book. If not he can read the *Akbarnámah*, in which is a description of the cities of Hindústán and Kabúl, and Tibet and Kashmír.

[1] Blochm., p. 106.

[2] The Lak'hnau text has و instead of در.

Towards the end of Shabán[1] of this year the Emperor allowed Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad to go to the *parganna* of Shamsábád, which had been given him as his *jágir*. And the son of his maternal aunt, Muḥammad Ja'far by name, a very able young man indeed, and a regular Baḥádur in fighting and friendship fell in action at that place, and the following *mnemosynon* was found for the date :—

"When Ja'far attained the diploma of martyrdom from the Court of the Judge,
The date of his year was : *Ja'far is become a pure martyr*."

The Emperor gave Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad five months' leave of absence. And when the aforesaid Mirzá represented that my mother was dead, and asked leave for me to go and comfort my brothers and sisters, the Emperor reluctantly gave me permission. And when the Çadr Jahán repeatedly told me to do *sijdah*, and I did not do so, he said 'Get along then.' So the Emperor was vexed with me and gave me nothing. At any rate I went with the Mirzá to Shamsábád, and there (P. 377) I fell ill, and going to Badáún and visiting my relatives they occupied themselves in preparing plasters and cures. The Mirzá hastened to Láhór. And on account of the book *Khirad-afzá*, which had disappeared from the Library, and concerning Salímah Sulṭán Begum's study of which the Emperor reminded me, (and though many messengers consisting of my friends started for Badáún, on account of certain hindrances they never arrived,) an order was issued that my *madad-ma'ásh* should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me *nolens volens*. And the aforesaid Mirzá (may he be steeped in God's mercy,) did me many acts of kindness in secret. But Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl did not lay my repeated representations before the Emperor, so that no refutation at all should reach his ears.

In Shawwal[2] of this year four persons of the confidential servants of the Court were sent on an embassy to the four rulers of the Dak'hin.

[1] The eighth month.
[2] The tenth month.

Shaikh Faizí was sent to Rájah 'Alı Khán ruler of Asír and Burhán-púr. And Amín-ud-dín, who was formerly called Muḥammad Amín, and at his own special request got the name of Amín-ud-dín, was sent to Burhán-ul-mulk, who had left the Court, and with the help of friendly Amírs had raised himself to the Sultanate and assumed absolute power in Aḥmad-Nagar, which was the place of his ancestors. And one, Mír Muḥammad Amín by name, who was a former servant of Çádiq Khán, was sent to 'A'dil Khán ruler of Bíjápúr. And Mír Munír was sent to Quṭb-ul-mulk the ruler of Golkandah. The order was that Shaikh Faizí should deliver his letter to Rájah 'Alí Khán, and then go on to Burhán-ul-mulk. And there the friendship between the Shaikh and Imin-ud-dín came to an end, and ended in a quarrel.

In this year the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic, which could by no means be removed. In this unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicions of his eldest son,[1] and accused him of giving him poison, and said:

"Bábá Shaikhú[2] (P. 378) Jí since all this
Sultanate will devolve on thee, why
Hast thou made this attack on me :—
To take away my life there was no need of injustice,
I would have given it to thee, if thou hadst asked me."

And he also accused Ḥakím Hamán, in whom he had the most perfect confidence, of giving him something. The eldest Prince appointed some of his own confidants to watch the movements of the Prince Murád. In a short space of time the Emperor's sickness was changed into health, and the people of the harem and the Sháhzádah Murád told this incident to the Emperor.

[1] Prince Salím, afterwards *Jahángír*.

[2] *Jahángír* says in his Memoirs (*Túzuk*, p. 1) that his father always called him by this name. *Shaikhú* is the vocative plural in Hindústání.

On this account on the twelfth of Zí-ḥajjah[3] of this year the Emperor gave the government of Málwah to the Prince Sulṭán Murád, who was entitled *Paháŕí*.[4] On appointing him to this government he granted him a pennon, kettle-drum, martial music, and a royal standard,[1] and all the paraphernalia of royalty, and he conferred on him a royal sleeveless dress of honour, which is an honour conferred only on princes. And he appointed Ismá'íl Qulí Khán as his *wakíl*, and other great Amírs he appointed as his attendants, and sent them with him, in order to set the distance between East and West between the two brothers, and that they might remain safe from the vain troubles of Empire. With the hope of further victories numbers of persons from every side gathered round the Prince, whom on the plea of the "golden mean"[2] they thought superior to the other princes in majesty and pomp. Having gathered together an immense army from the environs of Ágrah, Qunnauj, and Guályár, he fought in the neighbourhood of Narwar several engagements with Madhukar[3] the *zamíndár* of U'ṇḍchah,[4] who was distinguished above all the Rájahs of Hind for his retinue and army, and had raised a rebellion in those parts; and defeated him. He fled and betook himself to the mountains and jungles, where he infested the roads, and killed many people, and took heavy black-mail from the caravans. The army of the Prince (P. 379) were put to the greatest straits by his robberies, and deserted him in every direction. But at that time Madhukar died a natural death, and went to Hell. His son came with fitting offerings, and had an interview with the Prince, who sent him with Yár Muḥammad, the son of Çádiq Khán, (who acquired the title of Yár, and is still known by that name) to do homage at Láhór.

The Prince took up his abode at Ujjain, and numbers of the men, who were appointed as his retinue, on account of his bad conduct in all relations of life, and court and ceremonial, and in his over-weaning pride and arrogance, in which he imitated his illustrious Father, and

[3] The twelfth month.

[4] Because he was born in the mountain district. See *Túzuk*, p. 26 (Trans.).

[1] See Blochm., plate 9, 4.

[2] The three princes were Salím, Murád, and Dányál.

[3] Means "Bee," "honey-maker."

[4] Spelt in our maps *Oorcha*.

which he carried beyond all conception, boasting of being a ripe grape when he was not yet even an unripe grape, with leave or without leave they left him ; and it became known that all that transient pomp and circumstance was caused by his ignorance rather than his knowledge.

At this time Doulat Khán, son of Amín Khán Ghorí, governor of Jounágaṛh, who had been wounded in battle with the Jám, died. A'zam Khán had gone to try and reduce that fortress, and the Amírs of Amín Khán under the leadership of the son of Doulat Khán for some days held out against him, but at last they asked for quarter and gave up the keys of the fortress on the fifth of Zí-qádah[1] in the aforesaid year.

And on the twenty-sixth of Muḥarram[2] of the year one thousand (1000) corresponding to the thirty-sixth year from the Accession, the Khán Khánán fought with Jání Beg for a whole night and day continuously. On both sides great valour was shown. The Khán Khánán slew two hundred of Jání Beg's troops and defeated him. Jání Beg after this defeat entrenched his army in the island, and the Khán Khánán blockaded him for two months. Then the Emperor sent one lac and fifty thousand rupees at the time, and one lac of *mán* of grain, with one hundred cannon at another time by water, and by way of Jasalmír many gunners and Rái Singh, who was one of the Amírs (P. 380) of four thousand, to the assistance of the Khán Khánán. And Jání Beg, after a most valiant resistance was at last conquered and reduced to extremities, so that he submitted and gave his daughter to the son of the Khán Khánán. After the conquest of Kashmír he came with the Khán Khánán (as will be related) and did homage to the Emperor.

On the fifth of Jamád'as-sání[3] of the year one thousand the Sun entered Aries, and the beginning of the thirty-seventh year from the Accession took place, and they diligently shaved their beards, and this hemistich was found to give the date :—

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The first month.
[3] The sixth month.

"They used to say that: *ever so many scoundrels*
Have given their beards to the wind."[1]

The rules and customs and observances on the occasion were the same as usual, with the addition of some new ones on the old lines. Of them are the following. The *Dirhams* and *Dinars* which had been coined with the stamps of former Emperors were to be melted down and sold for their value in gold and silver, and no trace of them was to be left of them in the world. And all sorts of *Ashrafís* and *Rupees*, on which there was his own royal stamps whether old or new, should all be set in circulation, and no difference of years was to be regarded. And Qulíj Khán, being very diligent, every day sought at the bankers, and took bonds from them and inflicted fines on them, and many were put to death with various tortures. But for all that they would not desist from uttering counterfeit coins. The Emperor wrote and sent *farmáns* into the uttermost parts of his dominions, containing stringent orders with regard to this matter. But it had no effect. At last by the care of Khwájah Shams-ud-dín the Chief *Díwán*, that command was really put in force.

On the day of *Sharf-i-Áftab*, which was the 19th degree of Aries, Ja'far Beg, whose title was A'çaf Khán *Bakhshí*, the Emperor appointed to march against Jalálah the *Roshanáí*, who had got in advance of Abd-ulláh Khán and was marching on Kábul, that with the help of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, the commandant of Dihlí, he might exterminate those rascals. And Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad (P. 381) he appointed to the post of paymaster-general. And at the end of Sha'bán[2] he appointed Zín Khán Kókah to help Áçaf Khán to exterminate the remnant of the Roshanáís and to colonise the district of Sawád-u-Bajúr, which had been completely desolated. In the middle of the month Shavvál[3] of this year Ḥáfiz Sulṭán Rakhnah of Herát, who was a most excellent person, of whom a host of worthy traces are remaining, notably the garden and buildings of Sarhind, which

[1] 200 + 10 + 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 4 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 80 + 60 + 14 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 1000.

[2] The eighth month.

[3] The tenth month.

have no parallel in Hind, passed in his ninetieth year from this lodging of deceit to the abode of happiness. The date was found by way of riddle in the following verse :—

"A fissure came into the garden,
And the water flowed away."[1]

And Faizí of Sarhind found two lines to give the date :—

"The garden became without water,"

And another :—

"Since he was buried in a corner of the garden,
Seek his date from the corner of the garden."[2]

And another :—

"O Háfiz."[3]

On the twenty-fourth of Shavvál [news of the rebellion of] Yádgár Kal, nephew of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Razwí, who had left him as his deputy in Kashmír and set off to the Court, arrived. And the Emperor having left Qulíj Khán to settle some affairs in Láhór, himself crossed the river Ráwí in the middle of the rainy season, and joining his eldest son advanced, hunting as he went, as far as the river Chanáb. At this place the news became current that Yádgár had fought a battle with Ḥusain Bég[4] Shaikh 'Umrí Badakhshí, who was collector of the revenues of Kashmír, and had come off victorious; and that the Kashmírís had cut off the ears and nose of Qází Alí Baghdádí, the enemy of the *aimahdárs* (who held the post of *Díwán* of Kashmír, and had brought forward accounts wide of the truth, and containing absurd details and so vexed the soldiery and the ryots), and had stuck his pen through the lobe of his ear (P. 382),

[1] His name *Rakhnah* means "fissure." The verse may also be rendered "Rakhnah went to Paradise, and glory departed." The numerical value of *bágh* "garden" is 1003 that of *áb* "water" is 3, take 3 from 1003 and you get the date 1000.

[2] *I. e.*, from غ 1000 which is at the end of the word باغ "garden."

[3] 11 + 8 + 1 + 80 + 900 = 1000.

[4] Ḥusain Beg and Qází 'Ali had been sent by Akbar to Kashmír to look into the revenue. Blochm., p. 346.

and sent him back again; and this *mnemonynon* was found for the date:—

"When Qází 'Alí Baghdádí
Brought the anger of Yádgár upon him,
The pen of the Munshí of Fate wrote
The date of his death, *the obnoxious one is dead.*[1]

After this Yádgár in accordance with the ancient customs of the place set a jewelled turban on his bald[2] head and borrowed the name of Sulṭán:—

"The crown of empire, and diadem of royalty
How shall it come to every bald man, God forbid!"

They say that the custom of Kashmír is that on the day of the Accession they stand drawn up in two ranks holding their naked swords over the new king's head. They say that on this account Yádgár at the time of the reading of the *khutbah* fell into a tremour, and fainted, and did not recover for some time. One of the incidents which occurred is the following. The very same day that he found a posie for his seal, and ordered it to be cut in his presence, a splinter from it came off and struck him in the eye. He rubbed his eye for a long time and cried out. From these omens they perceived that his rule would not be a long one:—

"Empire which comes quickly, lasts not long;
That is true empire, which comes gradually."

Ḥusain Bég Shaikh 'Umrí fled, and thinking half a life a great gain left the passes of Kashmír as quickly as possible, and reaching Rájúrí,[3] which is between Kashmír and the end of his journey, he there waited for orders. Yádgár gave *mançabs* and *jájírs* to his men, and giving them all sorts of titles appropriated the treasures and horses and arms of Mirza Yúsuf Khán. And his wives and

[1] 46 + 700 + 10 + 40 + 200 + 4 = 1000.
[2] His name *Kal* means "bald."
[3] On the frontier of the Panjáb and Kashmír.

family, after taking away all the gold and ornaments and useful female slaves, he mounted on small horses, and sent out of Kashmír with the greatest ignominy, together with the disagreeable sons, the very counterpart of the disposition and nature of their father Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, of whom the following verse would be a good description : (P. 383)

"All your Amírs are babblers
And all their sons are disagreeable."

The Emperor suspecting Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, who was in the camp, consigned him for some days to the charge of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl. Meanwhile he sent forward Shaikh Farid *bakhshí* with Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥím of Lak'hnou and another army, and himself awaited the Prince's arrival on the banks of the Chanáb. At B'hambar, which is the beginning of the passes and mountainous country, news arrived, that Yádgár had come out of the city Kashmír with a large force intent on fighting, and that he had alighted at a pass called Hírápúr, and at night with the greatest carelessness had given himself up to debauchery in his tent. In the middle of the night some of the servants of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, together with a band of Afgháns, attacked him and put him to death. They brought his treacherous head after three days to Court.

This victory so quickly gained was a lesson to men. They reckoned that from the accession of Yádgár to the day that his head was brought into the camp was forty days. His head came into the army like a ball in a game at tennis, and afterwards was exalted to the battlements of the fortress of Láhór.

When in the month of Zí-ḥijjah[1] of this year the Author came from Badáún[2] to the Camp in accordance with orders, Ḥakím Humán represented to the Emperor at the station of B'hambar, that I wished to pay him homage. The Emperor asked how long I had been absent from my post? He replied, Five months. The Emperor asked, On what pretext? He replied, On the score of sickness. And he brought a petition from the grandees of Badáún, and

[1] The twelfth month.

[2] See p. 376.

a report from Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk to the same effect from Dihlí. When the Emperor had read them all, he said: "A sickness won't last for five months." And so he did not give me permission to make the *Kúrnish*. So I remained repulsed, grieved, and disappointed in the camp, which was left with (P. 384) Prince Dányál at Rohtás. But I made my fortress the reading through of that impregnable castle, *viz.*, the words of the Best of the Prophets (God bless him, and his family and give them all peace!) and the repetition of the *Qaçídah e bordah*,[1] and He who answers the prayer of the distressed accepted this my sad and humble petition, so that after five months the occasion of His Majesty's return from Kashmír to Láhór rendered him favourably disposed towards me, and on the pretext of my making a translation of the *Jám'-i Rashídí*,[2] which is a very huge volume, some kind and true friends, such as Mír Nizám-ud-dín &c., mentioned my name confidentially at his private audience. And so a command was issued that I should wait upon him. After his return from Kashmír on the day of *Bahman-khur*,[3] of the festival month of Bahman, the divine month,[4] which corresponded with the seventeenth of Rabí-ul-ákhir[5] of this year the Emperor granted me an audience. I offered him an *ashrafí*, and approached him with the greatest respect, and so the removal of that cloud of alienation and suspicion became facilitated, thank God for it! An order for making an epitome of the Jám'-i-Rashídí was with the approval of 'Alám Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl issued to me. Of this whole book I took the genealogical tree of the Khalifs of the Abbásides and of the Omaiades of Egypt, which is traced to The Prophet (God bless him, &c.,) and thence down to Adam (peace be upon him!), and also the pedigree of the other prophets I translated in *extenso* from Arabic into Persian, and presented it to the Emperor, and it was put into the imperial library.

[1] A famous ode in praise of the Prophet by Abu 'Abd-ulláh Muḥammad Sharf-uddín.

[2] Morely, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 1-11.

[3] The month of January was called *Bahman*, and so too the 2nd days of every month, but of that month in particular, on which day they eat *bahman* saffron.

[4] That is, according to the *Illáhî* reckoning.

[5] The fourth month of the Muhammadan year.

But to return to the history of the Emperor. On the sixth of Muharram[1] of the year one thousand and one, he arrived in Kashmír, and having spent a whole month minus two days in enjoying himself in that "his private garden," and having committed the government of that province to Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, on the sixth of the month of Çafar[2] of the year one thousand and one he embarked in a boat on his way back, and reached Bárah Múlah on the confines of Kashmír (P. 385) and at the end of the road to Pakhalí.

On the road he came to a lake, which is known as Zain-lanká,[3] and enjoyed himself there. This lake, which is between two mountains, one on the east and one on the west, has a circumference of thirty *cosses*, and is very deep. The river Bahat[4] flows through it. Sulṭán Zain-ul-'ábidin, whose history has been written succinctly in my abridgment of the history of Kashmír, had a *jaríb* of stones thrown into the water and built thereon a stone throne, so lofty and grand that the like of it has not been seen in all the provinces of India.

Among the wonders which the soldiers saw in the country of Kashmír is a sensitive tree in the village of Khánpúr, the width of its stem is two *arash*[5] and its height more than a *gaz*, and its branches are like an inverted Béd-i-Majnún,[6] and for all that if a child do but take hold of one of its branches and shake it, the whole tree trembles and shakes. And some of the wonders of that country have been described by the late Sháh Fatḥ-Alláh Shírází, and his account has been inserted in the Akbarnámah by 'Allámí Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl.

During the first part of the month Rabí'-ul-awwal[7] of this year His Imperial Highness took up his abode at Rohtás. On the fifteenth of this month he returned to that abode of delights Pe-

[1] The first month.

[2] The second month.

[3] According to the Túzuk (Sayyid Aḥmad's Text, p. 45, last two lines) it was the building which was called *Zain-lanká*. The lake was called *Ulur*.

[4] Jellum or Hydaspes.

[5] A cubit. *Vullers*.

[6] Weeping willow.

[7] The third month.

sháwar, and on the sixth of the month Rabí'-us-sání[1] he took up his abode in that city which is the city of all arts. At that time news came, that Bahádur Kodrah, a little account of whom has already been given, after the death of Qutlu Loḥání[2] governor of, had fought a great battle with Sakat Singh the son of Mán Singh, and defeated him. When Mán Singh marched against him, he was not able to withstand him, but fled and hid himself in the deserts and mountain, and the kingdom of Bengál to the sea-shore was brought entirely into the power of Mán Singh.

On Sunday the seventeenth of Jamáda's-sání[3] of (P. 386) the year one thousand and one (1001) the passage of the Sun from Pisces into Aries took place, which was the beginning of the thirty-eighth year from the Accession. More new regulations were published.

On the twenty-fourth of Jamada's-sání the Khán Khánán and Mirzá Jání came to Court, and became the recipients of the Emperor's bounty. He distinguished the Amírs, who had been with the Khán Khánán on service, each according to circumstances with additions to their *mançabs* and *jágírs*. At first, Multán was fixed as the *jágír* of Mirzá Jání, after some time he was transferred to Thathah, and Multán was given to Mirzá Rastam, as shall be hereafter narrated, if God, He is exalted! will.

At this time came news that, when the Khán-i-A'zam took possession of Súrat Muzaffar Guzrátí, who was in that neighbourhood, fled to Kangár the *zamíndár* of the province of Kach'h and took refuge with him. Then A'zam Khán went against Kangar. And he with a view to preserving his name and reputation came and had an interview with Khán-i-A'zam. The son of Khán-i-A'zam took Muzaffar Khán[4] prisoner unawares, in the place where he was, and sent him to the Khán-i-A'zam. And Muzaffar on the journey on the plea of a call of nature sat down with his canopy over him, which he always carried about with him together with his other property, and cut his throat and died. And, not being able to

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Or *Nohání*.

[3] The sixth month.

[4] The text here is very much confused; but I think I have given the right sense.

do anything else, they sent his head to the Khán-i-A'zam, and he sent it on to Court :—

" Heaven turns away its face
From every one who turns from it ;
You should not turn your face from it,
That it turn not its face from you."[1]

At this time Rájah Mán Singh sent from Bengál the 120 elephants, which had fallen into his hands at the conquest of Oṛísah.

In this year in accordance with the decree that all the Amírs of the frontier at the end of a certain fixed period should come to Court, which was a very wise and politic provision, a *farmán* was issued to A'zam Khán, who (P. 387) for a period of six years had absented himself, ordering him to repair to Court. The Emperor took away from him Júnágaṛh,[2] which he had conquered, and gave it to Rájah Mán Singh. On the last occasion, when he came from Bengál to Fatḥpúr, he had let fall some harsh words concerning the sect and creed, and in his bigotry had brought the names of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Bírbar before the Emperor, and carried his speech to wonderful excesses, so that he became the common talk of high and low. Eventually on account of their affair he was looked very much askance at, and so [he left Court] on the pretext of letting his beard grow, which he had vowed in his war with the Jám, and concerning which the Emperor had written to him, saying : " Is your beard not yet grown, that you do not come ? " and he had written a long and rude letter in reply, which made an impression on the Emperor's mind. Some of the hypocrites about Court told tales of him, and got him removed from his post. On this account he put his children and his wives and treasures into a boat on the first of

[1] For the sentiment compare the saying of Rabban Gamliel, son of Rabbi (Mishnah, *Aboth* ii. 4) " Make His will thy will, that He may make thy will His will." And for the " turn " of the verse, compare Rapin's line on the Marigold :

Calthaque, solis amans, solem dum spectat amatum,
Ducit eum, quem fert, ipso de sole colorem.

[2] The capital of Súrat.

Rajab[1] of the aforesaid year he left Júnágaṛh and went to the port of Díú intending to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, and the following *mnemosynon* for the date, which is one too many, was composed :—

"To the place of the *upright* Khán-i-A'zam went,
But in his despite of the king he went *wrong*,
When I asked of my head the date of the year,
It said : *Mirzá Kókah is gone on a pilgrimage.*[2]

And this affair of his,[3] which they compared with that of the chief of anchorites Ibn Adham,[4] after all was all the same to him whether he accomplished the journey or not. On the arrival of the news a *farmán* was sent to the Prince Sulṭán Murád that he should become governor of Guzrát, and the Emperor having appointed Muḥammad Çádiq Khán, in the place of Isma'íl Qulí Khán as his *wakíl*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Súrat and Baroṇch, on account of the removal of Qulíj Khán, was fixed as his *jágír*. In this year Zaim Khán Kókah and Áçaf Khán who had been appointed to punish the Afgháns of Swát and Bajúr, and to extirpate Jallálah the Roshanáí (P. 388), killed many of them, and captured the wives and family of Jallálah, and his brother Waḥdat 'Alí with their relatives and brethren to the number of nearly 14,000, and sent them to Court. And of the rest of the prisoners who can take account!

On the twenty-ninth of Zi-l-qa'dah[5] of this year the government of the district of Málwah was given to Mirzá Sháh Rukh. And Shahbáz Khán Kambú, who had been kept in confinement for three years, and had paid a fine of seven *lacs* of rupees, the Emperor sent for

[1] The seventh month.

[2] 40 + 10 + 200 + 7 + 1 + 20 + 6 + 25 + 2 + 8 + 3 + 80 + 200 + 400 = 1002. The date is therefore 1001.

[3] He went with all his children and a tremendous suite.

[4] Abu Isḥaq bin Adham a great saint, died 166 A. H. He made a very famous pilgrimage alone to Mekkah. See D'Herbelot *sub voce* "Adhem." He is well-known from Leigh Hunt's poem.

[5] The eleventh month.

from Kángaṛh and set him free. He was then appointed to manage the affairs of Málwah, and to be *wakíl* to Mirzá Sháh Rukh.

On the seventeenth of Zí-qa'dah of this year the learned Shaikh Mubárak[1] departed from this world. At his funeral his sons shaved their heads and beards and mustaches and eyebrows as people do the beard. And Faizí, the king of poets, found the date: *Pride of*[2] *perfection;* and I found the date: The *perfect Shaikh.*[3] And *A new law*[4] gives the date on which these people had their hair, beard, mustaches, and eyebrows shaved.

On the eighth of the month Muḥarram[5] of the year one thousand and two (1002) Mirzá Rustam bin Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá bin Bahrám Mirzá bin Isma'íl Çafawí, who himself held the government of Zamíndáwar and its environs, and his elder brother Mirzá Muzaffar Ḥusain held the government of Qandahár and the Garmsír,[6] being angry with his brother, came to Court with his children, wife, family and brother-german. The Emperor sent Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk and others to meet him, and take to him a private pavillion, and an audience tent, carpets and other paraphernalia of the *farrásh khánah*,[7] and a belt and jewelled dagger. And at four *cosses* from Láhór he ordered the Khán Khánán, and Zain Khán Kókah, and the other great Amírs to go and meet him. After he had done homage the Emperor made him a present of the sum of a *kror* of *tankahs* in small change,[8] and enrolled him among the Amírs of five thousand, and appointed Multán as his *jágír*. (P. 389).

At this time coming four months after the king of poets Shaikh Faizí,[9] the other ambassadors arrived from the rulers of the Dak'hin

[1] Father of Faizí and Abul-Fazl.

[2] 80 + 600 + 200 + 31 + 40 + 30 + 20 = 1001.

[3] 300 + 10 + 600 + 21 + 40 + 30 = 1001.

[4] 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 + 3 + 4 + 10 + 4 = 1001.

[5] The first month.

[6] The temperature in Persia, India &c. depends more on elevation and soil, than on latitude. The higher and cooler regions are called *sarasír*, the hotter *garmsír*. See Balfour's *Alí Hazín*, p. 100, *n*.

[7] See Blochmann, p. 53.

[8] It was the custom to keep bags of *1000 dam* at hand ready for distribution. Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 421, *n*. 1.

[9] See *suprá*, p. 377.

having succeeded in their negotiations ; and paid their respects. And since Burhám-ul-mulk[1] had not sent any acceptable present on the twenty-first of Muḥarram the Emperor appointed the Prince Dányál to this service, as *wakíl* to the Khán Khánán, and Ráí Sing (whom I should rather call Sag)[2], and other Amírs with 70,000 specially assigned troops.

The Emperor married the Prince Dányál to the daughter of the Khán Khánán, and gave a great feast, and received such a quantity of presents of gold, and all sorts of precious things, that he was able to equip the army therefrom. And having given the ensigns of Royalty and insignia of pomp and dignity to the Prince, he sent him off. He himself immediately afterwards went out to the chase, when he had reached the banks of the river of Sulṭánpúr, which is twenty-five *cosses* from Láhór, he changed his mind and ordered the Prince to return. In order to take counsel with the Khán Khánán, who had got as far as Sarhind, he sent for him. He made him turn back to go and meet the leaders of the army with orders to abandon the enterprise, and again dismissed him, and himself returned to Láhór.

On Friday the seventeenth of Jamáda 's-sání[3] of this year Miyán Shaikh 'Abd'-ulláh the lawful heir of his reverence Miyán Shaikh Dáúd (God sanctify his spirit!) passed to the eternal world, and *The Pure Spirit of Shaikh Dáúd*[4] gives the date "God knows what is best, and to Him do we eventually return."

Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí Sháhí*, the date of which I, this erring author, (P. 390) after much thought found to be *Nizámí*.[5] Having persuaded the said author to allow me, I wrote a part of the book myself, and so from this point onwards the events of the two following years will be chronicled in a compendious style.

On Monday the twenty-eighth of Jamáda 's-sání[6] of the year one

[1] King of Aḥmadnagar.

[2] *I. e.*, Dog.

[3] The fifth month.

[4] I cannot make it give more than 992.

[5] 50 + 900 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1001.

[6] The sixth month.

thousand and two (1002) the sun passed out from the extremity of the sign of Pisces into the commencement of the sign of Aries. And this was the beginning of the thirty-ninth year from the Accession. These eighteen days were spent, as were those of the years preceding, in feasting and jollity of all sorts. New decrees were promulgated. Of this number are the following :

The chief police officer was to take cognizance of the streets and houses of the city one by one, and to require of the heads and chief persons of every street a bond that he would perform the following duties. To keep a close watch on every one who came in or out, of whatever degree he might be, whether merchant, soldier or otherwise. Not to allow troublesome, and disorderly fellows, or thieves to take up their abode in the city. That if he saw any one whose expenditure was greater than his receipts, he should follow the matter up, and represent to the Emperor through the chief police officer, that all this extravagance of his is probably paid for with money, irregularly acquired. That he would inform the Chief of Police of all rejoicings and feasts, and mourning, and lamentation which might take place, especially marriages, births, feasts[1] and such like. That he should have continually in his employ in every street, and lane, and bazar, and at every ford of the river a person, whom he could trust, to keep him informed of everything that went on, whether good or bad. And that he would so manage the roads, that no one who had lost his way, or who was a fugitive should be able to get out of reach, and that no merchant should be able without an order to take away a horse, nor to bring in a pack from Hindústán.

The price of gold, silver, and precious stuffs was to remain fixed, and they were to be bought at the imperial tariff. A fixed profit was to accrue to the imperial treasury.

An inspector and registrar of the effects of those who died or disappeared was to be appointed. So that if any one who died had an heir (P. 391), after it had been proved that he did not owe anything to the imperial exchequer, and was not *krorí* (tax-gatherer), or a banker receiving deposits, the heir might take possession of it ; otherwise it

[1] Or خون may mean "bloodshed"; but I have taken it as the Arab. pl. of the Persian خوان a table, food.

passed into the imperial treasury; and until they got a receipt from the treasurer, they were not to bury the deceased.

In order to show respect to the Sun the Emperor ordered, that [the coffins] should be placed in the grave-yard on the eastern side of the city. If any of the disciples called *Darsaniyyah*[1] died, whether male or female they were to hang some uncooked grain and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and to throw it into the river. Then they were to take out the corpse and burn it in a place where no water was; or else after the manner of the inhabitants of Cathay[2] to bind it to a tree. This order is based on a fundamental rule, which His Majesty had defined, but which I have not room to mention here.

No son or daughter of the common people was to be married until they had gone to the office of the Chief of Police, and been seen by his agents, and the correct age of both parties had been investigated. In this way a host of profits and perquisites surpassing all computation, guess, or imagination, found their way into the pockets of those in office, especially certain police officers, and effete Khán-lings,[3] and other vile oppressors.

Another rule was this: If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her. And if a young woman were found running about the lanes and bazars of the town, and while so doing either did not veil herself, or allowed herself to become unveiled, or if a woman was worthless and deceitful and quarrelled with her husband, she was to go to the quarter of the prostitutes, and take up the profession.

Another rule was this: A father or a mother might, if forced by hunger and extreme misery, sell their child, and afterwards when they had the means to pay, might buy it back again from servitude.

If a Hindú, when a child or otherwise, had been made a Musalmán against his will, he was to be allowed, if he pleased, to go back to the religion of his fathers.

[1] So called, because they came to feast their eyes on the Emperor every morning at his first public appearance called "Darsan." See Blochmann, *Áín-i Akbarí*, p. 157. *Darçana* is Sanskrit for "sight," Gr. δέρκομαι.

[2] Colonel Yule in his edition of Marco Polo mentions the custom of exposing the dead as current in Cathay, (vol. II, pp. 117, 118).

[3] *Khánú* is a diminutive, from *Khán*. See Vuller's *Inst. ling. pers.*, p. 235.

No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and any one was to be allowed to go over to any religion he pleased.

If a Hindú woman fell in love with a Musalmán (P. 392) and entered the Muslim religion, she should be taken by force from her husband, and restored to her family.

If any of the infidels chose to build a church, or synagogue, or idol-temple, or fire-temple, no one was to hinder him.

All these laws, of which I have given a short account, refer to matters of religion, and it is not in the power of the compiler of these pages to include them all. But the laws of government and finance and households, and the mint, and the army, and the agriculturists, and the merchants, and the custom-house, and the chronicle-writing, and the *krorís*, and the *dágh-u-maḥall*, and the fights[1] between elephants, and deer and cheetas, and tigers, and birds, and goats and dogs, and boars, and of observing established rules on the part of the dependents of a householder, and of the disposition of one's time in matter of eating and drinking and sleeping and waking, and other actions and functions, how can they possibly be described! for the intellect is incapable of attaining to it, and to recount them all, would take a life-time of more than the human span :—

"Every day Heaven brings forth a new event,
The like of which Thought cannot fathom:
It requires an intellect[2] brighter than the Sun
To solve the difficulties of this age."

Some of these may be found in the second volume of the *Akbar-námah* which was composed by the very learned Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and forms a large book.

On the day the "Eminence of the Sun," the compiler of this compendium completed the first volume of the *Tárikh-i-Alfí*, which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mullá Aḥmad of T'hat'hah, the Heretic, (be on him what may) and the third by A'çaf Khán. And an order had been issued to me to revise and

[1] See Blochmann, p. 218.

[2] I propose to read رای instead of راهی which might, however, be rendered "a method."

collate it, in conjunction with Mullá Muçtafá Kátib[1] of Láhór, who is a worthy friend of mine, and is become one of the Aḥadís. I presented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approval. And since the second volume contained much bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of "bigotry," (P. 393) I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health; and may it not, God grant! be a cause of any further injury. My condition with regard to these books was like that of one who eats one date together with the stones, and another says to him, "Why don't you throw away the stone?" and he answers, "They have apportioned me only just this amount[2]."

At this time Shaikh Faizí, the king of poets, finished the commentary on the Qurán[3], which is altogether without diacritic points, and is of the thickness of seventy-five *juz'*. And he found nine lines without diacritic points which gave the date of its completion. And some sheets he sent into 'Iráq that it might become generally known. And now he is occupied with *Amrár-i-sání*[4] which also gives the date of its revision and collation. And the learned men of the age wrote their *imprimatur* on it. Thus Shaikh Ya'qúb of Kashmír wrote an *imprimatur* in Arabic; and Miyán Amán-ulláh Sarhindí found the verse of the Qur'án:"[5] There is nothing green nor sere, but is noted in the Perspicuous Book;"[6] and Mír Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mu'ammáí, the whole of *Surat-al-ikhlás*[7] without the "*bismi'llah*." And the author of these pages found, "One of the

[1] See Text, p. 317.

[2] He means that he could not afford to reject work for which he was paid.

[3] Called *Sawáti'ul ilhám*. The rays of inspiration. See Blochmann, p. 549.

[4] 1 + 40 + 200 + 1 + 200 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 = 1003.

[5] Al Qur'án, VI, 59.

[6] [Translation of Editor's note.] Be it known that the sum-total of the numerical values of letters of the verse "There is nothing green &c." is 1099, and that of the line "Praise be to God! &c." is 973, and that of the line "O God &c." is 1031. Thus each of the lines gives a different date. [This being the case we leave it to our more patient readers to discover the solution of the enigma. Tr.]

[7] Al Qur'án, chap. CXII. The whole *surah* added does give 1002.

best of commentaries, is the *Bismi'illáh* in the name of the Compassionate, and the banner of the Qur'án" to give the date. And a copy of an *imprimatur*, shall soon be given in its proper place (if God will). And some of the thirty lines, giving the date of the composition, which were written by me from the hunting-ground at Láhór are the following :—(P. 394)

"Thanks to God who grants desire, he has finished the *Sawáṭi'*-
O God the unique writer has not erased The Word. [*ul-ilhám.*
The limits of the secrets of the Word of God, who revealed
the pearls of the thrones.
The thrones are lofty, the pearls are sublime."

And the remainder are similar.

In the month Çafar of the year one thousand and two (1002) Khwájah Ibráhím Ḥusain Aḥadí, who was one of the author's particular friends, departed this life. And Khwájah Ibráhím Ḥusain[1] (God have mercy on him!) was found to give the date.

This same year God (He is praised! glorious is His Majesty!) granted this scribe grace to write a copy of the Glorious Word. When I had written it in clear legible *naskh* hand-writing, with the pages and marginal lines perfect in their way, I presented it, as an offering at the luminous shrine of his holiness that Ghaus of mankind, orthodox teacher, and asylum, Miyán Shaikh Dáúd Jhanní Wál[2] (God sanctify his tomb!), in the hopes that it having removed the infidelity of former books, which is black as the record of the deeds of the author, may be his friend throughout life, and his intercessor after death: "and this would not be too hard for God."[3]

On the seventeenth of Zí Qa'dah[4] of this year Muḥammad Qásim Khán Mír Baḥr, and Mirzá Muḥammad Zamán, who was one of the sons of Sháhrukh Mirzá, were killed in Kábul. It happened as follows: When Muḥammad Zamán Mirzá came to Badakhshán, after returning from his pilgrimage, the inhabitants of Badakhshán

[1] 600 + 6 + 1 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 8 + 60 + 10 + 50 = 1002.

[2] Jhanní is near Láhór. He died in 982. Blochm., p. 539.

[3] Al Qur'án, 14, 23.

[4] The eleventh month.

were in despair at the oppressions of the Uzbeks. They made him Commander-in-chief, and hoping continually for help from Hindústán, they carried on a brave resistance, and continually held their own against the enemy. But when their hopes were not realised, and the Uzbeks brought

"A host more numerous than ants and locusts"

against Muḥammad Zamán Mírzá, he resisted and withstood them for some years to the best of his power and ability, but in the last throw he was worsted, and being no longer able to stand his ground, he made for Hindústán in company with some 14,000 or 15,000 horse (P. 395), and arrived in the neighbourhood of Kábul. But through the instigation of certain persons he conceived some seditious disaffection, and repented of his intention. He was taken prisoner by some followers of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, commandant of Kábul. Muḥammad Qásim Khán treated him with the greatest respect and honour, and presenting every one of his followers with a horse, and a robe of honour, and money for expenses, appointed 150 horsemen to accompany him, and wished him to depart for Láhór. Meanwhile some of the confidential servants of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, who were Badakhshís and Kábulís, having made friends with the Mírzá, broke into the house at midday and entered the bed-chamber of Muḥammad Qásim Khán by force. They put him to the sword, and sent him to his last resting-place. Muḥammad Háshim, son of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, who had a house outside the citadel of Kábul, got certain gunners, and servants of his father to join with him, and besieged Mírzá Muḥammad Zamán. For one night and a day he kept the fire of battle alight, and then slew the Mírzá, and sent his head to Court.

The Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulij[1] Khán, who for some time had been manager-in-general,[2] to be commandant of Kábul, and dismissed him to go to his command. He appointed Shams-ud-dín Muḥammad Khawáfí[3] to the office of superintending the affairs of State and finance, and made him absolute *Díwán*. At this time the Emperor sent Áçaf Khán[4], *Bakhshí*, to Kashmír to look into the affairs of the military and civilians of that country.

[1] *Qulij* properly *Qülüj*, means in Turkí *a sword*. Blochm., 355, *n*.

[2] *Jumlat ul Mulk*, see Blochm, p. 349.

[3] See p. 290, *n*. 1.

[4] *Viz*., Ja'far Beg, see Blochm., 528.

In this year God (praise be to Him!), when the successive blows of misfortune, and the scourges of vicissitudes were battering me, graciously granted me repentance from some follies and transgressions with which I had been afflicted, and opened my eyes to the vileness of my actions, and the baseness of my deeds:—

"Ah! if I remain so, ah!"

(P. 396) And by way of good omen "Rectitude[1]" was found to give the date. And the king of Poets (Faizí) composed this verse:—

"My Shaikh has indeed repented of sinning:
His date is *Excelling in penitence.*[2]
The thought of wine and beloved has left my head,
The sound of lute and tambourine has left my heart."

In the first part of the blessed month of Muḥarram[3] of the year one thousand and three (1003) Shaikh Farid Bukhári, who was associated with Áçaf Khán in the duties of *Bakhshí*, received orders to repair to the mountain district of the north, and reduce to obedience the rebellious Rájahs of those districts, and having made a settlement of their holdings, to bring back suitable presents to the Emperor.

In the beginning of the month Çafar[4] of this year the Emperor crossed over the river Ráwí, and spent twenty-five days in amusement and hunting in the neighbourhood, and then returned.

At this time the king of Poets[5] was ordered by the Emperor to compose the *Panj-ganj*, and in the short space of five months, more or less, he finished the *Nal u Daman* (who were a lover and his beloved, the story of whom is famous among the people of India,) and comprised it in 4,200 verses odd, and presented it to the Emperor as a gift together with some *ashrafís*. It was very much approved by the Emperor, and he ordered it to be transcribed and illuminated

[1] 1 + 60 + 400 + 100 + 1 + 40 + 400 = 1002.
[2] 60 + 1 + 2 + 100 + 1 + 30 + 400 + 6 + 2 + 400 = 1002.
[3] The first month.
[4] The second month.
[5] Faizí.

and read like the translations by Naqíb Khán. The first couplet of the book is the following :—

"O in the search of Thee from the beginning
The 'Anqá of sight is soaring high."

And verily it is a *Masnaví*, the like of which for the last 300 years since Mír Khusrou no poet has composed.

At this time Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad[1] fell out with Qulij Khán, and was continually in opposition to him, and gained a great ascendancy over the mind (P. 397) of the Emperor, and had entered on affairs with great energy and activity. He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor, and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability, good sense, sincerity, honesty and perseverance. And this to such an extent, that the Emperor appointed Qulij Khán and other courtiers, who had always been attendants at Court, to out-lying provinces. The Emperor considering this matter as but the forerunner of his patronage, and the beginning of his favour, had all sorts of bounties laid up for him in the treasury of his heart, and wished to bring forward his exalted ability, which was capable of growth, into the arena of notice. Suddenly at the very acme of his eminence, and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate, and at the age of forty-five he succumbed to a burning fever, and left this transitory world taking nothing with him but a good name. A host of friends and companions, who had been witnesses of the excellence of his qualities, and had entertained great hopes of him, and especially the poor author (who cherished for him a kind of religious unanimity, and a sincere friendship free from all worldly motives), poured tears of regret from their eyes, and beat their bosoms with the stone of despair, and in the end had no resource left, but patience and endurance, which is a characteristic of the pure, and a quality of the pious. I looked upon this event as the greatest misfortune, and took therefrom a perfect warning, so that I never afterwards formed a friendship with any human being, but regarded the corner of obscurity as best suited to me :—

[1] Author of the *Tabaqát-i Akbarí*.

"The discourse that preaches of thy departure is mere vanity,
The death of thy companion is sufficient preacher for thee."

This event took place on the twenty-third of Çafar of this year. They carried his bier from the camp to Láhór and buried him in his own garden. There was scarcely any one of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret:—(P. 398)

"Death grants perpetuity to no human being,
The rigorous King shows no respect of persons.
The decree of Death is common to all earth's habitants,
He issues not this decree to me or thee alone."

And this *qiṭ'ah* was composed to give the date:—

"Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad is departed,
Brisk and beautiful went he towards the other world.
His spirit on account of its sublimity
Became the protegé of the Lord Most High.
A clever man found the year of the date,
A pearl without price has left the world.[1]"

At this time Shaikh Farid Bukhárí, who had been sent[2] to reduce the State of the Sawálik mountain-district to order, was sent for to administer the affairs of the office of *Bakhshí*, which had been committed exclusively to him. The Emperor appointed Qázi Ḥusain Qazwíní to succeed him [in the Sawálik mountains].

At this time A'zam Khán returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharífs, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijdah*, and following all other rules of discipleship; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings, and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith from his reverence 'Allamí,[3] and received Gházípúr and Ḥájípúr as *jágír*:—

[1] 20 + 6 + 5 + 200 + 12 + 2 + 5 + 1 + 7 + 4 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 1003.

[2] See p. 396.

[3] *I. e.*, Abu-l-Fazl, see p. 201.

"I have spent my life at this learning,
And am still learning the Alphabet;
I don't know when I shall become
So proficient in the letters as to find my way in his Díwán.

And the saying about repressing one's whims came true.[1]

On the ninth of the month of Rajab[2] of this year the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place (P. 399), and the fortieth year from the Accession began. The customary assembly was held in the same manner as in former years. Two days before the entrance of the Sun into Aries, the Emperor called to me to come from the window[3] in the public and private audience-chambers; and said to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, "We thought that so and so" (meaning the writer of these pages) "was an unworldly[4] individual of Çúfí tendencies, but he appears to be such a bigoted lawyer that no sword can sever the jugular vein of his bigotry." He enquired, "In what book has the author thus written, that your Majesty says this of him?" He replied, "Why, in the *Razm-námah*" (which is a name for the *Mahábhárata)* "and last night I called Naqíb Khán to witness of this matter." Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl admitted that it was a fault. I was obliged to make my appearance, and humbly stated, that I was a translator, nothing more, and that whatever the sages of India had represented therein, I had translated without alteration, but that if I had written it myself, I should have been to blame, and should have acted wrongly. The Shaikh supported me, and the Emperor was silent. The cause of this *contretemps* was as follows: I had translated in the *Razm-námah* a certain story in which it is narrated, that one of the teachers of the people of India, when on the point of death, said by way of advice to those present: "It is right that a man should step out of the limits of ignorance and negligence, and should first of all become acquainted with the peerless Creator, and should pursue the path of knowledge; and not be satisfied with mere knowledge without practise, for that yields no fruit, but should choose the path of virtue, and as far as in him lies withdraw his

[1] The text here seems corrupt.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] See *Blochm.* p. 337, *n.* 2.
[4] See فنا in De Sacy, *Pendnamah*, p. liv.

hand from evil actions, and should know for a certainty that every action will be enquired into." And on this passage I wrote this hemistich :—

"Every action has its reward,
And every deed its recompense."

(P. 400) This passage he considered as referring to Munkir and Nakír[1] the general Resurrection, and the Last Judgment, &c. things contrary to his own fixed tenets, who never talked of anything but metempsychosis, and so suspected me of theological bias and bigotry :—

"How long reproach me for my weeping eyelashes,
Let me for once have also the sympathy of thy dark eye."

Eventually I impressed upon all the courtiers the fact, that all the people of India speak of the reward and punishment of good and bad actions. Their belief is as follows: When a person dies the scribe, who writes the chonicle of the deeds of mankind throughout the course of their lives, takes it before the angel, who is the Seizer of Souls, and is called the King of Justice. After he has examined into their good and bad actions, and has seen which has the preponderance, he says, "This person has his choice." Then he asks him: "Shall I first for thy good actions take thee to Paradise, that thou mayest there enjoy to the full delights in proportion to thy good actions, and after that send thee to Hell to expiate thy sins; or *vice versâ?*" When that period comes to an end, then he gives orders that the person should return to the Earth, and entering a form suitable to his actions should pass a certain period. And so on *ad infinitum*, until the time when he attains absolute release, and is freed from coming into and leaving the world. So that affair passed off well. On the day of *Sharaf-ush-shams* the Emperor said to Çadr Jahán, without any one's having suggested it to him: "How would it be if I were to appoint so and so[2] to the guardianship of the blessed tomb of his holiness the Khwájah of Ajmír, which is without a guardian?" He answered, "It would be a very good thing."

[1] The judges of the dead.

[2] *That is*, the Author.

So for the space of two or three months I did much running about in the service of the Court, all the time hoping for a release from this confusion. And for a time I wrote some formal petitions, to which I got no answer, and so it became necessary that (P. 401) I should take my departure. And the Inward Monitor said this :—

"If thou put thy hand to anything,
I will put a chain on thy hand.
I will drown thee in a butt of wine,
If thou mention the name of sobriety."

On the night of the last of the blessed month of Ramazán[1] of this year, when Çadr Jahán asked the Emperor, what order should be given with respect to my dismissal? he replied: "He has business to do here, and every now and then I shall have some service for him to perform, produce me some one else." But the omniscience of God (praise be to Him Most High!), and His will (glorious is His Majesty!) did not coincide with this intention, and I do not know what is best to do in this uncertainty and very gadfly's condition :—

"Thou takest me from thine own door to the door of the rival,
Then thou sayest, why dost thou go to the door of the rival?
I have wandered for years in search of thy good face,
Show thy face, and deliver me from this wandering."

Contemporaneously with these events he one day said to Abu-l-Fazl in my presence ; "Although the guardianship of Ajmír suits so and so very well, yet since, whenever I give him anything to translate, he always writes what is very pleasing to me, I do not wish that he should be separated from me." The Shaikh and others confirmed His Majesty's opinion of me. That very day an order was issued that I should translate and complete the remainder of those Hindú lies, part of which had been translated by the command of Sulṭán Zín-ul-'ábidín, king of Kashmír, and named the *Baḥr-ul-asmár*,[2] while the greater part had been left untranslated. I was commanded to finish the last volume of that book, which was of the

[1] The ninth month.

[2] "The Sea of Tales." It is probably the *Rájataranginí*, "The Ocean of Kings," the only piece of History in Sanskrit. The Kathá Sarit Ságara could hardly be meant.

thickness of sixty *juz'*, in the course of five months. At this time also one night he called me into his private bed-chamber to the foot of (P. 402) the bed, and till the morning asked for stories out of each chapter, and then said: "Since the first volume of the *Baḥr-ul-asmár*, which Sulṭán Zín-ul-'ábidín had translated, is in archaic Persian, and difficult to understand, do you translate it afresh into ordinary language, and take care of the rough copy of the book, which you have translated." I performed the *zamínbós*, and heartily undertook the commission. I began to work, and after showing me a great deal of favour he presented me with 10,000 *tankahs* in small change, and a horse. If God (He is exalted!) will, I hope to have this book well finished in the course of the next two or three months, and that it will obtain me leave to go to my native country (which is the grave). But He is the right one to give permission, and He hath power over the wishes of his servant.

During this year reports came from Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk, and Shahbáz Khán from the confines of Hindiah, that they had put to death Burhán-ul-mulk on account of his bad conduct, and had set up his son, who was twelve years old, as his heir.

The Emperor sent a *farmán* to the prince Sulṭán Murád, and another *farmán* to the Khán Khánán ordering them to set out with haste, and proceed to the subjugation of the Dakhin.

During the first part of the month of Zi-ḥajjah[1] of this year Sháh Beg Khán Kábulí went to Qandahár, and Mírzá Muzaffar Ḥusain, commandant of Qandahár, came to Court in company with Qará Beg *Mír-shikár*, and brought valuable jewels with other precious things as a present to the Emperor. The Emperor treated him with special favour and kindness.

Sháh Beg Khán fought a battle at Zamín Dáwar with a great army of the Uzbeks, and defeated them. He slew most of their leaders, and to those whom the sword spared, he gave dresses of honour and released them. Another body of them fled to a fortress, and were beseiged there. He bombarded the fortress and took it by storm. Then he continued his advance and took the Garmsír.

(P. 403). The Emperor conferred the province of Chítór on Mírzá Rustam, and took away the district of Samb'hal from Abu-l-

[1] The twelfth month.

Fazl and gave it as *jágír* to Mírzá Qandahárí.[1] And Multán, which had become completely desolated by the tyranny of Mírzá Rustam, he converted into Crown property.

At this time Sa'íd Khán Mughul came from Bangálah to Court, and brought an elephant and much money and precious products of that country from 'Isá Khán the *Zamíndár* as a present to the Emperor.

In this year Shaikh Ya'qúb Kashmírí, who had the *takhulluç* of Çarfí,[2] had obtained permission to leave the Court, and return to his native country, when he died : " Verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him do we return "[3] :—

" All our friends are gone, and have taken the road to the
Ka'bah,
We with tipsy foot remain at the door of the wine-seller.
Not a word of the points we proposed has been solved,
We are left beggars, without this world or the next."

On the night of the twenty-seventh of Zí-ḥajjah of this year Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had gone on an embassy to Rájah 'Alí Khán, and had returned thence to Hindiah (which had been appointed as his *jágír*), after an illness of five months departed to the other world. Extolled be the perfection of God ! our acquaintances and friends one by one withdraw their heart from our companionship, and lightly hastened, and still do hasten, to their everlasting home, while we in this sadness and despair drag on an existence in folly and forgetfulness of our end :—

" O heart, since thou art aware that death follows existence,
To what end this desire for length of days ?
Thou did'st make a pact with Fate,[4] not Fate with thee,
Why then this cry, that Fate is treacherous ? "

[1] The Mirzá Muzaffar Ḥusain mentioned above.

[2] See Vol. III, p. 148 of Text.

[3] Al Qur'án II, 151.

[4] Referring to the well-known verse of the Quran vii. 171.

On the third of the month of Muḥarram of the year one thousand and four (1004) Ḥakím Ḥasan Gílání (P. 404), who was of a very dervish-like character, and kind, and possessed of excellent qualities, departed this life :—

"If a Rose were possible without a Thorn,
Every moment in this world would be a new delight;
We should be happy enough in this old caravansarai of Life,
If Death were not always at the door."

At this time Shaikh Músá Gílání Qádirí, son of the Master, Shaikh Ḥámid (God sanctify his tomb !), younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ul Qádir[1] who is a devotee at Uchh, chose to do homage to the Emperor, and was raised to the rank of Commander of five hundred.

During this month Çadr Jahán, the *Muftí* of the imperial dominions, who has been appointed to a commandership of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two foolish sons; and having taken the *Shaçt*[2] of the new religion, he went into the snare like a fish, and so got his commandership of One Thousand. He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be. On the same day Mullá Taqí of Shustar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of the learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the *Sháhnámah* into prose in accordance with the Emperor's orders, and whenever the word 'Sun' occurs he uses such phrases as *jallat 'azamatuhu* and *'azza shánuhu*.[3] Among others that joined was a Shaikhzádah, one Gosálah Khán by name, of Banáras, (but what good can be expected from a *zádah !*)[4] and Mullá Sháh Múḥammad of Sháhábád, and Çúfí Aḥmad musician of the Masnad-i-Çád of Dihlí, who claimed to belong to the progeny of his holiness Ghaus-us-saqalain (God be favourable to him !) :—

[1] He had been deprived of this grant, and had returned to Uchh. *Blochm.*, p. 544.

[2] *Shaçt* was the symbol which the Emperor presented to each novice of his Divine Faith (*Blochm.*, 166). It also means *a fish-hook*.

[3] Because Muslims use such phrases after the name of God.

[4] Literally "There is no good in *bán*, and *zádah*." A possible explanation of this saying is, that some words expressive of contempt, such as *ḥarámzádah* bastard, and names of menial servants, such as *pílbán* &c., end in *bán* and *zádah*.

"Alidís cub is like it ;
How art thou like a prophet ? say ! "

They all conformed to the four degrees of the Faith, and received appointments as Commanders of from One Hundred to Five Hundred. They gave up their beards in the earnest pursuit of the new religion, and became hairless and beardless, and "Some shavers[1]" was found to give the date. These new-religionists behaved like Hindús turned Musalmáns, and like one who is dressed in red clothes, and in his conceit looks at his relatives, who say to him (P. 405) : —

"My little man, these rags will be old to-morrow,
But the Islám will still remain on your neck."

Aḥmad "the little Çúfí" is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor of Shaikh Aḥmad Bikrí of Egypt. He said, that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age he had come to India, and the Shaikh had frequently told him, to assist the Sulṭán of India, should he make a slip, and to lead him back from his place of danger. But the opposite was the result :—

"A boastful spider said : I am so very clever,
That it would be only right if to-morrow I were made
"Weaver by appointment to the Houris."
Hast not heard what another spider said to him ?
Brother, why boast ? first weave, then boast ! "

The issue of the affair of Gosálah Banárasí, who was a catamite of "a calf in bodily shape, and lowing[2]," was as follows : Through the intervention of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he was brought into proximity to the Emperor, and by deceit and trickery getting himself made *Krorí* of Banáras he managed to leave the Court. He in company with Aḥmad the little Çúfí set his eyes on a certain prostitute, and having left a considerable sum of money with her appointed a guardian over her, and went away. When the overseers of the prostitutes and dancing-girls represented this to the Emperor, one night at the New

[1] 40 + 6 + 400 + 200 + 1 + 300 + 3 + 50 + 4 = 1004.
[2] Al Qur'án vii, 146. *Gosálah* is Persian for "a calf."

Year's assembly he allowed the matter to transpire, and took away the jágír of Two-Hundred from Aḥmad Suflí[1], and Mullá Sháh Muḥammad, which they held conjointly in the skirts of the mountains, and recalled Gosálah of Banáras.

On the tenth of the month of Çafar[2] of this year the King of Poets, Shaikh Faizí, after suffering for a long time from conflicting diseases, *viz.*, from the trouble of a difficulty in breathing, and from dropsy and swelling of the hands and feet, and from a vomiting of blood, which he had borne for six months, passed from this world. And since he had, in despite of Mussalmáns, associated and been mixed up with dogs day and night, they say that at the moment of (P. 406) death they heard him bark like a dog. And through his bigotry in the matter of heresy and denial of the religion of Islám, he involuntarily at that moment even in the presence of men of learning, lawyers and ascetics, uttered meaningless words and such foolish gibberish, and stuff and nonsense, and unbelief in religious matters, as he was accustomed to, and in which he had formerly so persisted. At length he went to his own place, and a *mnemosynon* for the date is "Woe to the heretic, and Shi'ah, and natural-philosopher, and the worldly man;" and another "The pillar of heresy is broken[3]." And one of his friends invented this *mnemosynon* :—

"Seest thou what a number of tricks the Heaven plays,
The bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale.
That bosom, which treasured in itself a whole world,
Became too contracted to draw half a breath."

At the time of his last agony the Emperor came in the middle of the night and took up his head and caressed it. Several times he cried out and said: "O Shaikh Jí I have brought Ḥakím 'Ali[4] with me, why do you say nothing?" But since he was unconscious no voice or sound proceeded from him. When the Emperor had repeatedly

[1] The title *Sufli* "base" seems to be given him in contempt instead of *Çúfí*.

[2] The second month.

[3] 100 + 1 + 70 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 = 1004.

[4] See *Blochm.* p. 466.

questioned him, he cast his turban on the ground.[1] And after he had given some words of sympathy to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl the Emperor went away. Just about this time news was brought that Faizí had breathed his last.—"O God make us firm, make us to die and raise us again in the Faith and the Islám!"

A few days after this event Ḥakím Humán died on the sixth of Rabí'-ul-awwal,[2] and on the seventh Kamáláí Çadr passed away. The riches of both of these were at once [confiscated and] locked up in chambers, so that they were too poor to afford themselves a shroud.

These are some of the events of various dates, which in the month of Çafar (may God conclude it in happiness and success!) of the year one thousand (P. 407) and four (1004) of the era of the Hijrah, which corresponded to the fortieth from the Accession, were written down in a concise form by the *shikastah* pen of this broken-hearted one, and without reservation have been strung unceremoniously on the string of narration. But, although with respect to details it is but as a bubble from the sea of Umán,[3] or like a drop from the clouds or the rain, everything that I have written is as far as I am conscious deliberately guarded from every trace of error, unless (God's will be done!) in the case of some years a postdating or antedating, or inversion or alteration may have crept into the original sources, which is not the business of the compiler. And if my span of life give me a little assistance, and the divine grace be my companion, and my brain have leisure from other occupations (if the glorious God will) I will write also a compendium of the events of the years to come. And if not, any one, who is an inhabitant of India, can after us compose a rough epitome, for such has always been the Law of God:—

> "My object has been to give good advice, I have spoken,
> I commit it to God, and go my way."

[1] In extreme grief or vexation, *cf.* p. [53]; and *Masnawí*, "Merchant and Parrot."

[2] The third month.

[3] The sea between India and Africa.

FINIS.

NOTES.

Page 10, ll. 12-14. These lines should be,

" Is life's one lesson to the wise ;
That man an arrant fool doth live
Who *leaves* his money when he dies."

P. 14, ll. 5, 6. These lines should be—

" Of earth or man there was no trace upon the board of life,
When in love's school my soul from thee first learned its passion's art."

P. 24, note 3. *Instead of* " Probably the *Díván-i-Ḥáfiz*, for " *read* Our author means the *Díván-i-Ḥáfiz*. Ouseley in his *Lives of the Persian Poets* says that the terms *lisán-i-ghaib*, and *tarjumân-ul-asrár* were first applied to Ḥáfiz by Jámí.

P. 37. For note[2] substitute, " the phrase *dar wádí-i* means 'in the subject of,' see *text*, p. 185, l. 3, *infra*, p. 187, l. 4 and 14, p. 305, l. 10."

P. 45. Add to note[5] " the passage may refer to the *zikr-í arrah*, a mode of saying *ḥaqq* without moving the tongue, see Vullers, i. 964 *a*."

P. 53. Add to note[2]—" Compare *infra*, p. 294, note."

P. 73, ll. 1—5. This passage should run

" In this year the Shaikh-ul-Islám, Fatḥ-púrí Chishtí,—who in the year 971 had returned from Mekkah and Madínah, and for the date of whose return the author of this history had discovered two *mnemosyna* and included them in an Arabic letter which he wrote and sent him from Badáún, which will be given in its proper place if God, He is exalted, will,—laid."

P. 105, l. 29. See *supra*, p. 67.

P. 118, l. 22. This line may mean

" Who brought news to Sorrow? Who gave warning for Misfortune to come ?"

P. 125, ll. 14—16. Rather,

" The coming of a son would add to the adornment of a king, if
The incomparable Lúlú would add to the adornment of the royal Pearl ;"
I. e., each is in itself incapable of receiving an addition of splendour.

P. 126, l. 6. " Onslaught,"—reading هجوم for نجوم.

P. 129, l. 3. In the text here (p. 125, l. 7) گذرا should probably be read گذار.

P. 138, l. 11. Our author should have written Maḥmúd for Muhammad as he has done below.

P. 150, l. 17. There is something wrong in the text here.

P. 157, ll. 8—17. This passage should run thus: "the next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fatḥ-ullah Tarín, who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-Islám Fatḥpúrí, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of us together with Tolak Khán Qúchín and Bég Núrín Khán and Raḥman Qulí Khán and Kákar 'Alí Khán and the other Amírs of the *jágír* of the neighbourhood of Dihlí (who were come to repulse the Mirzá and were waiting for us in the *pargana* of Ahár on the bank of the river Ganges) should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon, as soon as a junction should have been effected."

P. 162. Add to note[3]. "This is a Turkí word and means a servant but not a royal one."

P. 169, l. 17. Add after "to rest." "On the ninth day they marched from thence without stopping to within 3 *cosses* of Ahmadábád."

P. 170, l. 26. On *wádí* see note *supra* on p. 37.

P. 174, l. 26. Probably for "the Emperor" we should read "the Saint."

P. 178, last l. Add note, "perhaps تکرار may mean disputations."

P. 181, l. 14. Rather "who relishes this *fresh* new wine?" reading باده.

P. 182, last l. Add in note after *Gajpati*,

"See Blochmann Transl. *Á'ín i Akb.*, pp. 399, 400."

P. 185, ll. 1—3. These lines should run,

"He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and hastening on by forced marches, arrived at Daryápur on the bank of the Ganges, distant 26 *cosses* from Patna. About 400 elephants fell into his hands."

P. 189, l. 28. This line should rather run,

"Gog, as they say, is where thy army is."

P. 192, l. 9 after "measured" add as a parenthesis the following omitted couplet:

"In the eye of the experience of the jesting man
A two-headed snake is better than the surveyor's measuring-line."

P. 195, l. 7. This son's name is given in the text as Habárí, but Blochmann, p. 370, gives it as Jabárí.

P. 216, l. 1. "In the hot air" should perhaps rather be "in his intense fervour."

——— ll. 9—12. This passage should rather run;

"In this year a learned Bráhman, Shaikh Bháwan, who had come from the Dak'hin and *nolens volens* turned Musalmán, came to visít his Majesty and was admitted to great intimacy; and his Majesty gave him the order to translate the Atharva Veda, which is one of the four well-known sacred books of the Hindus. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islám. I was appointed to render it from Hindí into Persian.

P. 217, l. 12. Walí Ni'mat Bégum was Mírzá Sulaimán's wife, see *sup.* p. 61, l. 9.

P. 230, ll. 18—21. These lines come from Háfiz, see lithogr. ed. with comm. p. 136.

P. 234, ll. 9, 10. These lines are prose; the whole passage should run,—"The Emperor replied, "If God (He is exalted) will, thou shalt return the bearer of news of victory," and he repeated the Fátiḥah with all earnestness and devotion."

P. 245, l. 27. This may mean "to spare his life would be to incur the risk of future revolts."

P. 258, l. 30. Instead of Multán, the Tabaqát-í-Akbarí calls it Mulathán, see Elliot, v. 406.

P. 268, l. 13. Can مقهور mean "certain men who had been brought over to his views?"

P. 276, l. 19. Bíjágarh should be Bíjánagar if the Persian text is correct, but it no doubt refers to Bíjápur.

P. 284, *l. l.* Instead of "and to God" it should rather run, "and God has made the same encroachments on his empire."

P. 293, l. 1. This is a hard passage, and its meaning is very doubtful.

P. 298, l. 5. P*atnah* should be P*annah*, see Blochm. p. 425, note.

P. 308, l. 18. We should read بامعارض for بمعارض and translate it "with my opponent I will enter into it," instead of "in the presence of his Majesty we will pass through it."

P. 312, l. 8. This passage should probably be translated, "would proudly rush forward to carry on the game."

P. 315. Dele note[1] see note *supra* on p. 37; and read in ll. 1, 2, "who were become a very proverb in all departments of pleasantry and in the realm of poetry, used to take dogs to their table and eat with them."

P. 320, l. 4. For *Khabísah* read *Khabítah Bahádur*, see Blochmann, p. 356, note.

P. 325, l. 12. For "discovering treasures" we should probably read "moving heavy weights," cf. p. 331, l. 19.

P. 327, l. 9. Perhaps we should read بتراثیان for تبراثیان as Butríyah is the name of a Muhammadan sect. "He became orthodox," of course means sarcastically "according to their views."

P. 330, ll. 10—13. Blochmann (p. 105) translates this, "the emperor took exception to my translation and called me a *Harámkhur* and a *turnip-eater* as if that was my share of the book." But the truth is that it refers to a Persian proverb in Roebuck, p. 192, and should run "What objections did I not have to hear, and I learned the full force of the proverb,—am I to eat forbidden food and be content with turnips after all?"

P. 367, ll. 24—27. This passage more probably means, "If the Hindus take this ill and will not prevent it, the wife of some Hindu who has died shall take her as a daughter and shall adopt her in that interview."

P. 368, ll. 23, 24. This should be "to quadruple the number," (cf. p. 157, l. 19.) See Defrémery, Mirchond, *Saman.* p. 10, l. 17.

P. 373, l. 24. This should be "to Atak Banáras, which is also called Atak Katak;" Blochmann, p. 374, *note*, says that Atak was so named because it rhymes with Katak.

P. 378, l. 13. The translation rests on a conjectural reading انتعاش for انتياش

P. 385, ll. 15, 16, for تنه read تنه and translate,

Tatah which was drunk through the passing of the cup,
Behold now it is desolate and with its cup broken!"

P. 389, l. 20, for the *Khirad-afzá*, see, *supra*, p. 186.

P. 399. l. 29—32. Read this passage as follows; "and Muzaffar sat down during the journey on the plea of a call of nature, and with a razor which he always carried about with him together with his implements, cut his throat and died."

P. 411, l. 1. The phrase در مثل is obscure, cf. p. 374, l. 17 (*text*), could the line mean "he ordered Naqíb Khán (the translator) to take it as a model"?

PREFACE.

I had been interested in Al-Badáóní's history of Akbar's reign, from my first commencing the study of Muhammadan Indian history; and when I began to read it, some years since, with my friend and pupil, the Rev. W. H. Lowe, of Christ's College, Cambridge, I suggested that he should undertake to translate it for the Bibliotheca Indica, in which the original text had appeared. This plan was carried out, and the translation was sent in instalments to Calcutta, where it was printed, and eventually published in the series. Unfortunately the work was not done with the care which it deserved, and the four numbers are full of misprints and errors which never should have been left there. For some of these I must myself plead guilty. Al-Badáóní is by no means an easy author, and he abounds with obscure phrases and far-fetched allusions, which I no doubt in some cases misunderstood and explained wrongly. For some more mistakes the Calcutta printers are responsible. In fact this seems a necessary drawback, when a book is printed at such a distance from the author. But I must not exonerate Mr. Lowe himself; for most of the errors are due to his haste and carelessness in the preparation of the original MS. of his translation* as well as in the correction of the proofs received from Calcutta.

When I found out the unsatisfactory state of the book, I went carefully through the Persian text and compared it with the translation,—partly by myself, and partly with Mr Lowe; and the long list of errata and corrections which

* In many places he was misled by relying too much on the translations given by Professor Dawson in Vol. V of the Elliot Papers.

is subjoined, will show that we have tried to do our best to atone for the original neglect. It has been a great grief to me to find that a book in which I felt such a keen interest, should appear in such a maimed condition; but I hope that even in its present form it will be of some use to the student of Muhammadan Indian History.

E. B. COWELL.

Cambridge, July 15*th*, 1889.

ERRATA AND CORRECTIONS.

Page	1	l.	16	*for* the desire of fortune	*read* the granter of desires.	
„	2	„	6	„ enjoined on	„ sent for	
———		„	9	„ not to	„ so as not to	
„	3	„	13	„ empty	„ fulsome	
„	4	„	12	*dele*	[*i. e.* Mecca.]	
———		„	22	*dele*	again	
„	5	„	6	*for* a number of royal Kháns	*read* the Imperial work-shops	
„	6	„	22	„ for Ḥájí Khán who	„ just as Ḥájí Khán	
„	10	„	2	*infr. for* b. II.	„ l. 11.	
„	11	„	20	„ defeated the rebels	„ wielded his sword with effect	
„	13	„	11	*dele* royal		
„	———	„	20	*for* court of judicature	„ court.	
„	14	„	19	„ Bokhárá	„ Bokhárí.	
„	19	„	17	„ had been advanced to such a degree that he became	„ as has been related, he had become the	
„	21	„	6	„ a suspicion of	„ suspicious	
„	24	„	9	„ the servants of the Emperor	„ the Emperor	
„	25	„	20,21	„ and sending a messenger of entreaty with a view to acting upon the Khán's feelings, asked for	„ asking for some mediator to plead his cause with the Kháns, and requested	
„	27	„	5	„ a	„ the	
„	28	„	2	„ to	„ of	
„	29	„	2, 3	„ both in thought and expression	„ from the point of view of reason or tradition	
„	30	„	18	„ in concert with all the others	„ they two in concert	
„	31	„	16	*dele* the mystery of		
„	32	*note*	1	*for* Najad	„ Najd	
„	34	l.	10	„ people	„ wives	
„	35	„	9,10	„ all his effects, which were not secured in the fortress,	„ immense spoil (cf. p.125 l. 11, *text*)	
„	37	„	22	„ view	„ rim	
„	38	„	12,13	„ and the state of the public exchequer he laid bare	„ and the saying came true, "one minister comes in and the other goes out."	

Page	39	l.	5	*for* veil	*read*	handkerchief
„	46	„	9	„ when the imperial troops were entering	„	at the time of withdrawing
„	—	„	12	„ Jaimall himself	„	he himself
„	49	„	2,3	„ because his jurisdiction &c.	„	and his authority was more that of a clerk
„	52	„	28	„ Ghazzá	„	Gharrá
„	53	„	17	„ satyr	„	satire
„	58	„	1	„ who was passing by	„	who, as has been related, was
„	64	„	5	*after* Máham Ankah	„	and Adham Khán
„	—	„	17	*for* emancipation	„	my writing this (*dele* note)
„	66	„	22	„ in	„	into
„	69	„	16	„ disappointed	„	conquered
„	72	„	12	„ 200 or 300	„	3000
„	73	„	26	„ 7	„	8
„	—	„	27	„ seven	„	eight
„	76	„	7	„ raising	„	raised
		„	11	„ Diváni	„	Dívánah
„	77	„	19	„ kind	„	bond
„	78	„	14	„ fort	„	ford
„	79	„	26	„ outside	„	inside
„	80	„	23,24	„ after the manner of an old man	„	in his old way of intimacy
„	81	„	6	„ Darbán	„	Darbár
„	—	„	2*infra*	„ Múzá Razá	„	Imám Rizá
„	82	„	27	„ Haráwal	„	in the van
„	83	„	5	„ the body	„	a number
„	—	„	17	„ Uzbeks	„	the Uzbeks
„	84	„	10	„ two very quarrelsome females	„	who were the subjects of strife and contention
„	85	„	11	„ Asraf	„	Ashraf
„	88	„	19	*dele* "and an attendant at the mosque."		
„	89	„	8	*for* 3	*read*	30
„	92	„	18	„ of his, said	„	said to him
„	93	„	5	„ to	„	from
„	94	„	21,22	„ which is an assembly-place	„	a host
„	—	„	23	„ Hindús	„	Hindús, to the number of
„	95	„	11	*dele* for all that		

Page	96	l.	21	*for*	Munçúr	*read*	Ḥusain
,,	—	,,	26	,,	found it so refreshing that	,,	which he had lately acquired
,,	97	,,	1			,,	bore witness. A few days before this it happened that, on a certain night
,,	98	,,	18	,,	van	,,	archers
,,	100	,,	11	,,	had	,,	has now
,,	—	,,	18	,,	Maakarwál	,,	Mankarwál
,,	102	,,	16	,,	the court	,,	Biyánah
,,	—	,,	18	,,	mankind, behold him	,,	the intelligent
,,	—	,,	28	,,	Dihlí	,,	Ágrah
,,	103	,,	8	,,	son	,,	father
,,	104	,,	8	,,	Dihlí	,,	Kaṛah
,,	—	,,	21	,,	Zanániyah	,,	Zamániyah
,,	—	,,	27	,,	Bartas	,,	Barlás
,,	—	,,	31	,,	Amír's	,,	Amírs
,,	105	,,	19	,,	Sargún	,,	Sarjan
,,	106	,,	32	,,	an unbeliever	,,	believer
,,	108	,,	23	,,	granted him a subsidy	,,	entreated his prayers
,,	109	,,	16	,,	day	,,	date
,,	110	,,	12	,,	Sarouj	,,	Saronj
,,	112	,,	5	,,	a new gate	,,	the name of the gate of the new fort
,,	—	,,	21	,,	any inhabited quarter	,,	the habitable world.
,,	113	,,	11	,,	the Emperor	,,	the Shaikh
,,	114	,,	14	,,	cupola	,,	roof
,,	116	,,	3,4	,,	over me like one bewildered——pass	,,	he, reciting a charm over me like one bewitched, infatuated me with his beauty
,,	117	,,	22	,,	their	,,	this
,,	—	,,	30	,,	as she was	,,	in a way that all can imagine
,,	—	,,	34	,,	steps	,,	stages
,,	118	,,	3	,,	to-night and	,,	one night
,,	—	,,	7	,,	trusting her affairs to her modesty	,,	after her other ventures risking her modesty
,,	120	,,	7	,,	the	,,	this
,,	122	,,	13	,,	Court	,,	the Court
,,	—	,,	17	,,	his	,,	this

Page	123	l.	23	*for* and on account of the fate of her lover	*read* But any rate	
,,	—	,,	26	,, unveiling in the house	,, secret chamber	
,,	124	,,	14	,, reputed son of Bahádur Khán	,, adopted son of Paháṛ Khán	
,,	125	,,	6	,, on the ground	,, in the circle	
,,	126	,,	5	,, religion-protesting	,, religion-protecting	
,,	—	,,	26	,, beauteous	,, bounteous	
,,	127	,,	13	,, when our king comes to an end	,, Long live our king and	
,,	129	,,	10	,, unguarded	,, unlimited (cf. p. 35, 9)	
,,	—	,,	15	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd	
,,	—	,,	20	,, he marched two days' journey as far as Ajmír	,, he was only two days' journey from Ajmír	
,,	131	,,	14	,, men	,, me	
,,	—	,,	21	,, star	,, store	
,,	132	,,	4	,, O Jewel	,, A Jewel	
,,	—	,,	19,20	,, lay my hand in the dust	,, throw dust on my head	
,,	—	,,	31	,, a pity, in	,, a pity, a	
,,	—	,,	33	,, Thou, pure spirit, wast	,, Thy pure spirit was	
,,	135	,,	18	,, women	,, woman	
,,	135	,,	9	,, constellation	,, revelation	
,,	—	,,	2*infra*	,, 977	,, 982	
,,	138	,,	8	,, nephew	,, grandson	
,,	—	,,	15	,, had	,, has	
,,	139	,,	17	,, Kamál Khán	,, Jamál Khán	
,,	142	,,	3	,, may God &c.	,, whom God (praise to Him! He is exalted) will ere this have brought	
,,	144	,,	12	,, 100 or 50	,, 150	
,,	—	,,	23	,, his	,, their	
,,	147	,,	28	,, their	,, that	
,,	148	,,	18	,, 18th	,, 7th	
,,	149	,,	6	,, orthodox	,, honest	
,,	150	,,	14	,, centre	,, ceinture	
,,	151	,,	27	,, returned	,, went	
,,	152	,,	2	,, soldier	,, soldiers	
,,	—	,,	14	,, charged those men on	,, many troops came up from	
,,	153	,,	15	,, Sha'íd	,, Sa'íd	
,,	—	,,	16	,, Ibráhím	,, Ibráhím Ḥusain	

Page	154	l.	31	*for* who was	*read* who were
„	156	„	30	„ fourteen	„ seven
„	157	„	19	„ twice or four	„ four (cf. p. 368, 23.)
„	157	„	34	„ in turn held a council with them	„ repeated the same counsel to them
„	163	„	2	„ ceremonies	„ unceremonious
„	—	„	17	„ Nas'úd	„ Mas'úd
„	164	„	1	„ Mírzá Ibráhím Mírzá	„ Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain
„	—	„	14	„ Brahmaindás by name	„ Brahmadás by name, from the district of Kálpí
„	165	„	4	„ Koltah	„ Kotlah
„	—	„	7	„ suit	„ suite
„	—	„	24,25	„ they let loose and the Musulmáns killed them all.	„ and let loose there, were killed by the Musulmáns.
„	—	2	*infra dele*	note [2].	
„	168	l.	17	*for* had gone	„ had not gone
„	169	„	29	„ days' march off	„ days ago
„	—	„	34	„ 500	„ 5000
„	170	„	1	„ Moghuls belonging to Fidáí	„ devoted Moghuls
„	—	„	2	„ was	„ were
„	—	„	3	„ was a man	„ were men
„	171	„	26	„ open plain	„ open plain with 5000 horsemen
„	172	„	30	„ submission	„ homage
„	173	„	14	„ Qazawání	„ Qazwíní
„	174	„	26	„ Sharaf-ud-dín	„ Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain
„	175	„	6	„ white of foot	„ white of one foot
„	—	„	7	„ observes	„ observed
„	—	„	8	„ passes	„ passed
„	176	„	15	„ hundreds	„ hundreds of thousands
„	177	„	9	„ Bengál	„ Bihár
„	—	„	14	„ Lodí	„ his Amír-ul-Umará Lodí
„	178	„	19	„ bank	„ back
„	179	„	25	„ 16th	„ 6th
„	181	„	10	„ at the removal of	„ by avoiding
„	—	„	18	„ reached	„ reaped
„	182	„	15	„ disloylaty	„ displeasure
„	—	„	17	„ mountains	„ the mountains
„	182	„	25	„ presented him with	„ scattered as *nisár* several

Page	183	l.	12	*for* 16	*read*	18
,,	185	,,	12	,, to	,,	from
,,	—	last	l.	,, from	,,	had attained a thorough acquaintance with
,,	186	ll.	1, 2	*dele* had attained many high degrees		
,,	—	ll.	26,28	*for* sheet	,,	leaf
,,	187	l.	2	,, Samaqand	,,	Samarqand
,,	—	*note*	3	,, *Imán* and *Imám*	,,	*Amán* and *Ímán*.
,,	188	l.	3	,, one of his own quivers and arrows	,,	an arrow from his own quiver
,,	—	ll.	9, 10	,, and though—exhibition of it	,,	far beyond his power and resources
,,	—	l.	12	,, kept close to	,,	kept trying to conquer (cf. p. 130.)
,,	—	,,	33	,, Núri	,,	Mír
,,	189	,,	3	,, mango-trees	,,	many trees
,,	—	,,	10	,, privy-counsellors	,,	confidential friends
,,	—	,,	24	,, Láhór	,,	Lakhnou
,,	190	,,	27	,, Mufliz	,,	Muflis
,,	191	,,	9	,, This sort of thing has gone on for ten years	,,	A matter of ten years has passed
,,	192	,,	5	,, an order was promulgated	,,	a new idea came into his mind
,,	—	,,	18	,, Shespúr	,,	Shethpúr,another Ayyúb-púr
,,	193	,,	4	,, those	,,	those lands
,,	194	,,	28	,, Dáúd	,,	Dáúd, after his flight from Tándah
,,	195	,,	12	,, Gaur	,,	the fortress of Gaur
,,	—	,,	19	*dele* and Muḥammad Qulí Khán		
,,	196	,,	2	*for* Tamkúr	,,	Tamkín
,,	197	,,	20	*after* bolted with him	*add*	and his rider, losing all command, struck the foot of his dignity against a stone and got a fall.
,,	198	,,	22	*for* mountain-like	*read*	the mountain-like
,,	199	,,	12	,, and	,,	Peace was renewed on a firm basis and it was decided.
,,	200	,,	1	,, wrist	,,	waist

Page	200	l.	23	*for*	*victory*	*read*	*wisdom*
,,	—	,,	28	,,	not devoid of	,,	since it would not be devoid of
,,	201	,,	8	,,	all	,,	a good many of
,,	205	,,	5	,,	ascertain their thoughts	,,	discuss philosophical subjects
,,	—	,,	29	,,	*de omnibus* &c.	,,	together with several other new-comers
,,	206	,,	12	,,	Another device &c.	,,	Another tale was that of Makhdúm ul Mulk's device for avoiding
,,	207	,,	2	*after*	and	*add*	once or twice he even stood before him without his shoes and
,,	—	,,	17	*for*	principles	*read*	dogmas
,,	208	,,	28	,,	in the hope of securing &c.	,,	so that eventually they got back all that he had received from them
,,	211	,,	4-6	,,	from that time *down to* a large number	,,	in early youth he had not regarded the question and had married what number of women he pleased
,,	—	,,	10	,,	had had	,,	had allowed
,,	—	,,	26	,,	*mut'ah*	,,	such *mut'ah*
,,	—	,,	29	,,	and	,,	or
,,	213	,,	30-32	,,	he merely looked &c. *down to* extreme	,,	he merely looked to the propriety of the words, —how could it be reasonable that his meaning should be so distorted?
,,	215	,,	12	,,	reason	,,	reason, not tradition
,,	—	,,	25	,,	were no longer observed	,,	were no longer observed by him
,,	217	,,	4	,,	that every five or six years	,,	for five or six years that
,,	218	,,	1	,,	Arab	,,	'Iráqí.
,,	—	,,	28	,,	and first	,,	On the 15th of Rajab Mírzá Sulaimán reached the neighbourhood of Fathpúr; and first
,,	219	,,	12	,,	without ceremony	,,	without hesitation

Page	219	l.	20	*for* painted canopies, brocade	*read* figured canopies of gold cloth	
,,	220	,,	2	,, Fátiḥah	,, Fátiḥah after the prayers	
,,	—	,,	19	*after* Sulaimán	,, and then return to Láhor.	
,,	—	,,	22	*for* meanwhile	,, For meanwhile	
,,	221	,,	7	*dele* head-foremost		
,,	222	,,	7	*for* Khan Zamán	,, Khán Jahán	
,,	—	,,	14	,, 20	,, 20,000	
,,	223	,,	8	,, took a moonlight flit	,, he went off	
,,	224	,,	1	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd	
,,	—	,,	2	,, Amráhah	,, Amrúhah	
,,	—	,,	4	,, he	,, Ḥusain Khán	
,,	—	,,	10	,, when they came on him —orders	,, whence, as he was disabled by his wound, in accordance with their orders, they	
,,	—	,,	15	,, friendship	,, religious sympathy	
,,	229	,,	last l.	,, bankrupt	,, borrower	
,,	230	,,	8	,, Arabs	,, 'Iráqís	
,,	—	,,	16	,, Arab	,, 'Iráqí	
,,	232	,,	5,6	,, a stipend—present	,, to look after me that I should be present	
,,	—	,,	7	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd	
,,	—	,,	11	,, at one of the stages	,, when one stage distant	
,,	—	,,	26	,, 'Agrah	,, Ajmír	
,,	—	,,	28	*after* defeated them	,, with some 1500 killed or taken prisoners	
,,	233	,,	15	,, I	,, returned and	
,,	236	,,	29	*for* Sár	,, Súr	
,,	239	,,	5	,, Sálabhán	,, Sálabáhan	
,,	—	,,	18	,, fifty	,, twenty	
,,	—	,,	22	,, would keep	,, must have kept	
,,	241	,,	14	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd	
,,	—	,,	16	,, and examine	,, He examined	
,,	—	,,	17	,, having seen [from his investigation of the field]	,, reported from what he had heard	
,,	—	,,	28	,, through his being a particular favourite of his majesty	,, merely to acquire religious merit and for the love of God	
,,	—	,,	31-34	*dele* note [2]		
,,	242	,,	34	*for* Saqqár in note [4]	,, Saqqá	
,,	243	,,	5	,, ul-awwal	,, ul-ákhir	

p.	243	l.	17	*for*	succinctly	*read* exactly
,,	245	,,	4	,,	sent	,, brought
,,	246	,,	25	,,	revese	,, reverse
,,	247	,,	14	,,	Jounpúr	,, Khánpúr
,,	—	l.	l.	,,	Muzaffar ~~Khán~~	,, Todar Mall (see Blochm. p. 430.)
,,	249	,,	18	*dele*	military commanders	
,,	—	,,	20	*after*	hill district	,, of Mudáriya
,,	253	,,	21	*for*	blind to God's mercies	,, like brute beasts
,,	255	,,	12	,,	pray	,, bray
,,	256	,,	7	,,	from there	*add* thither
,,	257	,,	7	,,	anxious	*read* disaffected
,,	—	,,	29	,,	many	,, some
,,	258	,,	6	,,	festival	,, festival of
,,	—	,,	15, 16	,,	when I brought a petition, &c.	,, when I brought a petition to Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí that I might receive permission to go, the Shaikh asked me
,,	—	,,	18, 19	,,	who withdraws from the fulfilment of his obligation	,, who will fulfil the obligation of serving her
,,	259	,,	10	,,	Nánúl	,, Nárnúl
,,	260	,,	11	,,	Hásdí	,, Hánsí
,,	—	,,	17	,,	concerning	,, by the hand of
,,	—	,,	32	,,	p. 265	,, *infra*, p. 274
,,	261	,,	18	,,	Bahrah	,, Bíhrah
,,	—	,,	29	,,	5th	,, 3rd
,,	—	,,	34	,,	disembarking	,, disembarked
,,	262	,,	2	,,	5th	,, 6th
,,	—	,,	5	,,	arrived	,, arrived at Todah
,,	—	,,	9	,,	names	,, name
,,	263	,,	21	,,	nature	,, tradition
,,	265	,,	13	*dele*	some	
,,	—	,,	14	*for*	look on them as gods	,, they look on some of them as gods
,,	—	,,	28	,,	principle	,, principal
,,	—	,,	34	,,	*muzhat*	,, *nuzhat*
,,	266	,,	8	,,	who naturally turn themselves from	,, overlooking
,,	267	,,	6	,,	past ages	,, ancient and modern times
,,	—	,,	13	,,	a cause	,, another cause

p.	269	l.	3	*for*	the many lights of His creation	*read*	His lights
,,	—	,,	6	,,	burn	,,	offer
,,	—	,,	23	,,	of	,,	and
,,	270	,,	14,15	,,	"who will ever have—than yourself?"	,,	"For which of these notorious heresies have you yourself the greatest inclination?"
,,	273	,,	23	,,	extravagancíes	,,	fopperies
,,	274	,,	15	*after*	Taib	,,	(a worthless wretch)
,,	—	,,	28	*for*	Maqçúr	,,	Maqçúd.
,,	275	,,	24	,,	the stain of thelr countenances	,,	their accidental stain
,,	276	,,	5	,,	blest	,,	blest in the 40th year of his age
,,	278	,,	31,32	,,	to pretend ignorance—political authority	,,	to refuse obedience whether to religious or political edicts
,,	280	,,	22	*after*	law	*add*	They called Islám a travesty
,,	—	,,	30	*for*	5th	*read*	25th
,,	281	,,	2	*after*	degree	*add*	like the Khwájah
,,	282	,,	12	*for*	said	*read*	attacked the faith, he said to him
,,	284	,,	11	,,	I	,,	he
,,	—	,,	—	*after*	verse	,,	I used
,,	286	,,	3	*for*	'Azim-ul-Mulk	,,	'Ain-ul-Mulk
,,	—	,,	16	,,	Miyán	,,	Miyán Mán
,,	287	,,	26	,,	a historical fact	,,	an historical picture
,,	288	,,	4	,,	their	,,	this
,,	—	,,	6	,,	under the skirts of those by whom	,,	under whose skirts
,,	289	,,	20	,,	time	,,	line
,,	289	,,	28,34	,,	Purushtam	,,	Purushottam
,,	—	,,	29	*after*	Ma'çúm Khán	,,	Kábulí
,,	290	,,	25	*for*	Kábul	,,	Kálpí
,,	291	,,	7	,,	50	,,	500
,,	292	,,	13	,,	Tórmáh	,,	Tármáh
,,	—	,,	24	,,	which are	,,	he is still
,,	296	,,	16	,,	with a natural tendency	,,	in a state of nature
,,	297	,,	16	,,	and again	,,	and reported the conduct of the amírs of that province; he also
,,	—	,,	23	,,	Piyáj	,,	Payág (Prayág)

p.	297	l.	25	„ ;	*read* ,	
„	298	„	24	„ he with	„	he, seeing the other with
„	300	„	1	„ the Abyssinian	„	Chishtí
„	305	„	20	„ he asked	„	he had previously asked
„	—	„	22	„ before	„	after
„	310	„	2	„ twenty-seventh	„	twenty-eighth
„	—	„	15	„ one of the renowned amírs came, &c.	„	he went into the pavilion of one of the renowned Amírs and honoured him with his society
„	311	„	1	*after* devise	„	so that the mind became bewildered by them
„	312	„	21	*for* news of this reached the veil of his door	„	the news of this scandal reached him
„	313	„	1	„ *pur et simple*	„	after his own fashion
„	—	„	25	*after* he said	„	in the presence of the late pious Mír Abú'l Ghais Bukhárí
„	—	„	31	„ youths	„	and he turned out a very hair-splitter in the matter of shaving
„	315	„	2,3	*for* by taking, &c.	„	used to take dogs to their table and eat with them
„	316	„	8	„ I don't blame you either	„	It is not without one
„	—	„	28	„ (P. 337)	„	(P. 307.)
„	—	„	33	„ wrote	„	pronounced
„	317	„	1	„ wrote	„	pronounced
„	—	„	4	„ flesh	„	milk
„	321	„	17	„ ingots	„	boxes full of ingots
„	324	„	14	„ give away a great deal	„	give great odds
„	327	„	14	„ un-náqiz	„	un-nawáqis
„	328	„	12	„ I had just finished	„	One night, when the Emperor heard
„	—	„	19-22	„ when one night, 'Açaf Khán Sális, &c.	„	he raised great objections and would not accept the truth of it. 'Açaf Khán Sális who is the same as Mírzá Ja'far, helped me in but a poor way, but Shaikh Abú'l-Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakshí, on the other hand, confirmed my assertions.

p.	331	l.	12	*dele* year	*read* day	
,,	—	,,	28	*for* many a family was ruined	,,	and his property was confiscated.
,,	332	,,	4	,, daily	,,	daily at noon
,,	—	,,	27	,, Bengál	,,	Guzerát
,,	333	,,	3	*after* Abú-Isḥáq	,,	and others
,,	—	,,	10	*for* eighteenth	,,	seventeenth
,,	—	,,	21	*after* Bengál	,,	who was a main supporter of Qatlú's
,,	334	,,	10	*for* north	,,	month
,,	—	,,	21	,, Khaipúrah	,,	Khairpúrah
p.	335	,,	15	*after* years	,,	while in some of their own Sanskrit books the age of men was described as ten thousand years
,,	337	,,	2	*for* 100	,,	10
,,	339	,,	8	,, four or five	,,	forty-five
,,	—	,,	21	,, Fíládí	,,	Fúládí
,,	340	,,	4	,, chief	,,	chiefs
,,	341	,,	14,15	,, although he treated him &c.	,,	having treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not wish to take any steps towards his being put to death.
,,	—	,,	21	,, I'timad	,,	I'mád
,,	—	,,	22	,, moveable and immoveable	,,	animate and inanimate
,,	344	,,	4	,, 20,000	,,	2,000
,,	349	,,	15	,, twelve	,,	fourteen
,,	352	,,	14	*after* Salím	,,	in his sixteenth year
,,	357	,,	5	*for* same market	,,	slave-market
,,	—	,,	15	,, camels	,,	camel-loads
,,	—	,,	16	,, fire-like smoke	,,	fire like smoke
,,	360	,,	21	,, forty	,,	fourteen
,,	364	,,	13	,, 'Açaf	,,	'Arab
,,	366	,,	14	,, Singh, Mánand	,,	Mán Singh, and
,,	—	,,	25	,, Baqshbandí	,,	Naqshbandí
,,	—	,,	31	,, at this time Sulaimán Mírzá arrived at Court in *incognito*	,,	about the time that Sulaimán Mírzá arrived at Court, he too came *incognito*
,,	367	,,	6	,, a bow and a number of muskets	,,	a number of bows and muskets

p,	368	l.	4	*after*	to this effect	*read* in the year 990 (?)
,,	370	,,	19	*for*	*Amín* Khán	,, *Amín* Khán Ghorí, the governor of Súrat
,,	374	,,	7	,,	Láhór	,, Lakhnou
,,	—	,,	21	,,	Gous	,, Ghous
,,	375	,,	6	,,	poverty	,, piety
,,	376	,,	8	*after*	Gujrát	,, and sent for Qulíj to Court
,,	—	,,	30	*for*	arms	,, anus
,,	378	,,	16	,,	transcription	,, translation
,,	378	,,	26	*for*	Bayání	,, Biyábání
,,	—	,,	30	,,	a river	,, the river
,,	379	,,	25	,,	the water	,, the river Indus
,,	382	,,	3	,,	property	,, prosperity
,,	—	,,	4	,,	flood-tears	,, blood-tears
,,	—	,,	25	,,	381	,, 371
,,	383	,,	16	,,	beasts	,, serpents
,,	386	,,	19	,,	them	,, me
,,	—	,,	—	,,	any	,, an
,,	388	,,	14	,,	twenty-sixth	,, thirty-sixth
,,	389	,,	13	,,	sisters	,, kindred
,,	—	,;	15	,,	he said "Get along then." So the Emperor was vexed	,, the Emperor said "Get along then." So he was vexed
,,	390	,,	12	,,	Imín-ud-dín	,, Amín-ud-dín
,,	—	,,	24	,,	Hakím Hamán	,, Hakím Humám
,,	391	,,	1	,,	twelfth	,, twentieth
,,	392	,,	20	,,	the	,, one
,,	393	,,	18	,,	Shams-ud-dín	,, Shams-ud-dín Khawáfí
"	—	,,	23	,,	Dihlí	,, Kábul
,,	397	,,	24	,,	'Alám Shaikh	,, 'Allámí Shaikh
,,	399	,,	4	,,	governor of	,, governor of Orissa
,,	400	,,	15	,,	Mán Singh	,, Rái Singh
,,	—	,,	20	,,	their	,, this
,,	401	,,	12	*after*	Murád	*add* in Málwah
,,	402	,,	5, 6	*infra for*	sarasír *for* Balfour's	*read* sardsír ,, Bolfour's
,,	406	,,	7	,.	fire-temple	,, Pársí "tower of sílence"
,,	411	,,	1	,,	read like the translations by Naqíb Khán	,, read as an example by Naqíb Khán (? cf. *text*, p. 374, 17.)

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Sulṭān Khwājah, son of Khwājah Khāwand Maḥmūd, or Dost,—one of the *Çadrs* of the empire, 246, 249, 275, 277, 300, 351.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Governor of Bakkar. See under Maḥmūd.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. See under Maḥmūd of Gujrāt.
Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bakkar. See under Muḥammad, Governor of Bakkar. The correct name of this Sulṭān is Maḥmūd *(q. v.)*.
Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā. See under Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, son of Wais Mīrzā.
Sulṭān Muḥammad, nephew of Pīr Muḥammad Khān, 129. For Muḥammad read Maḥmūd. See page iv.
Sulṭān Murād, Prince, second son of Akbar. See under Murād.
Sulṭān Salīm. See under Salīm, son of Akbar.
Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn, King of Kashmīr. See under Zainu-l-'ābidīn.
Sultānpūr, town of,—at twenty-five *cosses* from Lāhor, 39, 257, 304, 341, 403.
Sundar,—name of one of the elephants of Akbar, from Sanscrit *Sundara*, beautiful, 98 and *n* 1.
Sunnīs,—one of the two great divisions of the Muslims, 318, 337.
Sūpar,—the town of Sheopoor, 120 miles S. W. of Āgra, 29 and *n* 5, 105.
Sūrat, province and town of, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 167, 177, 222, 249 *n* 3, 256, 339, 370, 371, 384, 399, 400 *n* 2, 401.
Suratha, the Rajah of, 145. It is the same as Sūrat (*q. v.*).
Sūratu-l-baqarah, the,—the 2nd Sūrah or chapter of the Qur'ān, 215 *n* 2.
Sūratu-l-ikhlāç, the,—the cxii chapter of the Qur'ān, 23, 48 *n* 1, 407.
Sūratu-s salwān, the,—meaning of the expression, 48 *n* 1.
Surjan Hādā, Rāī,—a relation of Rānā Udai Singh of Chīṭor, 25, 26 and *n* 2, 29, 111. See also under Sarjan Rāī.

Surkhāb,—name of a place in the province of Kābul, 302, 303.
Sutlej, the. See under the Satlaj.
Suzāwal Khān, father of Bāz Bahādur, 29 and *n* 3, 42 and *n* 4. Called Shujā' Khān Afghān in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī and Shujāwal by Blochmann.
Swāt, in the country of the Afghān, 401. See also under Sawad and Sawād-u-Bajor.
Sye, or Sai, the,—the river Siyāh, which falls into the Gumtī near Jounpūr, 82 *n* 4.
Syria, 189 *n* 2.

T.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, the,—of Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, 4 *n* 3, 25 *n* 3, 26 *n* 2, 29 *nn* 3 and 4, 33 *n* 2, 34 *n* 2, 38 *n* 3, 40 *n* 3, 44 *n* 6, 46 *nn* 1 and 4, 54 *n* 2, 55 *nn* 3 and 4, 56 *n* 2, 57 *n* 4, 58 *n* 4, 65 *n* 3, 72 *n* 4, 79 *nn* 4 and 5, 80 *n* 1, 96 *n* 2, 97 *n* 1, 102 *n* 5, 106 *n* 1, 107 *n* 3, 157 *n* 1, 161 *n* 1, 166 *n* 1, 182 *n n* 1 and 3, 184 *n* 1, 193 *n* 5, 256 *n* 2, 259 *n* 1, 300 *n* 2, 333 *n* 6, 363, 411 *n* 1, 425. Also called the Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī, which also see. See also the next.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī Shāhī, the, 403. Same as the above. [327.
Tabarā'īs, the,—a class of religionists,
Tabarkindh, fortress of, 34 and *n* 3. The same as Sirhind (*q. v*).
Tabrīz, town of,—in Persia, 248.
Tafsīr-i-Akbarī, the,—a commentary on the *Āyatu-l-Kursī* by Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, 201.
Tafsīr-i-Ḥāfiz,—a commentary on the Qur'ān by Mīrzā Muflis, 190.
Ṭā Hā,—title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'ān, considered and often used as a name of Muḥammad, 35 and *n* 4.
Ṭāhir Muḥammad Sulṭān,—chamberlain of Pīr Muḥammad Khān (*q. v*), 20.
Ṭahmāsp, Shāh, son of Shāh Ismā'īl, founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty of Persia. See under Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia.
Ṭaib, of Kīt'hal, Mullā,—Dīwān of the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr, 274. See also under Ṭīb.
Taimūr. See under Tīmūr.
Tāju-d-dīn, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Zakariyā of Ajodhan,—called by the title of Tāju-l-'Ārifīn, 265.
Taju-l-'ārifīn, the,—or *Crown of the Çūfīs*, 265. Title of the above.
Tāka, name for *rupee*, 49 *n* 2. It is the word *Tankah* as used in Bengāl.
Takhalluç—Nom de plume of poets, 309 *n* 1, 417.
Takht-i-Sulaimān,—a mountain near Srīnagar, the capital of Kashmīr, 381.
Taklīf, doctrine of, 317.
Takwīn, doctrine of, 317.
Ṭālib Içfahānī, Mullā,—author of an account of Little Tibet, 388
Talmūdīm, the, 287 *n* 2.

Talmūdīm Babl. Synh., 222 *n* 1.
Talwandī, town of,—on the river Biyāh, 159, 161 *n* 1.
Talwārah,—a place in the mountains of Kushmāl, on the banks of the river Biyāh, 38.
Tamānu', signification of the word, 21 and *n* 2.
Tamghā, or inland tolls, abolished, 284.
Tamkīn, surname of Mīrzā Abu-l-Qāsim, an officer of Akbar's army, 196 and *n* 1 [see page vi].
Tāndah,—the capital of Bengāl under the Kararānīs, situate opposite to Gaur, 186, 187, 194 [see page vi], 195, 200, 220, 232, 235, 290, 332.
Takahs,—or
Tankas,—a monetary denomination, 29 *n* 1, 37, 49 and *n* 2.
Tapti, the,—the river of Sūrat, in Gujrāt, 147 *n* 6.
Taqī of Shustar, Mullā,—a follower of Akbar's new religion, 418.
Tardī Bēg Khān, Commandant of Dihlī, and one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, the father of Akbar, 5, 6 and *n* 2, 7 and *n* 5, 38.
Tārīkh-i-Alfī, the,—or History of a thousand years, an historical work written by command of Akbar, 25 *n* 2, 46 *n* 1, 310 and *n* 3, 406.
Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī, the,—or Divine era, the era instituted by Akbar, 316.
Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī, the,—of Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 102 and *n* 5. 247 *n* 1, 305, 374. Called generally the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī *(q. v.)*.
Tarjumānu-l-asrār, the,—a term applied to Ḥāfiz, the celebrated Persian poet, 423.
Tarkhān Dīwānah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's reign, 169, 170, 291, 320.
Tarkībband, signification of the term, 381 and *n* 3.
Tārmāh Beg,—one of the leaders of Akbar's army, 292 [see page x].
Tarsān Muḥammad Khān,—one of the magnates of Akbar's reign, 31. Same as the next two (*q.v.*).
Tarson Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 241 *n* 2. Same as the above and the next (*q.v.*).
Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān,—governor of Patan, 218, 282, 290, 295, 297, 298. See also the above two.
Tātār Khān, Governor of Dihlī under Akbar, 95, 144.
Tātār language,—the Chaghatāī branch of, 48 *n* 4.
Tātārcheh, name of Tātār Khān, Governor of Dihlī, or of his son Dost Muḥammad, 144.
Tat'ha, town of, 327, 328. See also the next and under Thathah.
Tattah, town of, 138, 314, 352, 370. See also the above and under Thathah.
Tattu Masnadi 'Ālī, one of the Amīrs of the Panjāb, 165. Probably a misprint for Fattū Masnadi 'Ālī, which see.
Tauḥīd-i-Ilāhī, Divine Monotheism,—name of the new religious system of Akbar, 335.
Taurat, a Hebrew word, used to designate the Code of Chingīz Khān, the Moghul emperor, 46 *n* 3.
Taurāt, the,—name by which the Pentateuch is designated in the Qur'ān, 46 *n* 3.

Tawâchī, signification of the word, 74 *n* 5.

Ṭawāf, one of the ceremonies of the *Ḥajj*, or Pilgrimage, the encompassing of the *Ka'bah*, 40 *n* 2.

Ṭawāīsī, Qāzī, one of the camp-Qāzīs of Akbar, 104.

Ṭayib Khān, son of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān, *Mīr farāghat*, the Commandant of Dihlī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 188 [see page vi].

Tazkiratu-l-auliyā, the,—a biography of Muḥammadan saints, 270.

T'hānēsar,—or

Thānessar, [Sanscrit *Sthaneçwara*], a town about 100 miles from Dihlī, where there is a temple of Mahādeo, 94 and *n* 4, 223, 322, 330, 358.

Thathah, town of, 399, 406. See also under Tat'ha and Tattah.

Thibet, country of, 335. See also under Tibet.

Thirlwall's Hist., 178 *n* 2.

Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dilhi*, 402 *n* 8.

Ṭīb, Mullā, 289. Same as Mullā Ṭaib of Kīṭ'hal, the *Dīwān* of the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr, which also see.

Tibet, country of, 129, 276, 388. See also under Thibet.

Tīmūr, the Mughul conqueror, called by the title of *Çāḥib-i-Qirān, i.e.*, Lord of conjunction, *viz.*, of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, 10 *n* 3, 61 *n* 5, 87 and *n* 1, 254, 276.

Tīmūr Çāḥibqirān, Amīr, 276. See under the preceding name.

Tīmūr Khān Badakhshī,—one of the Amīrs of the imperial army, 249, 252.

Tīr Khān Dīwānah,—one of the attendants of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain (*q. v.*), 57.

Tirhut, district of, 307.

Tirmizī's *Shamā'il*, a collection of Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet, 318.

Todah, town of,—the birth-place of the author, 168, 262 [see page ix], 243, 258. See the next.

Todah Bihyūn,—or

Todah Tark 'Alī,—a town about 10 cosses S. W. of Rantambhor, 25 and *n* 4. See the above.

Todar Mal,—the Hindū minister of Akbar, 64, 65. See also under Rājah Todar Mal.

Toghlaq Ābād,—an ancient fortress in the environs of Dihlī, 6.

Tolak. See under Tulak.

Toqān, or Elder brother, 7. [195 *n* 1.

Toqbāī,—name of a Chagtāī tribe,

Translation of 'Alī Hazin, Balfour's, 35 *n* 3. See also under 'Alī Hazin.

Transoxiana, 14 and *n* 2, 45, 185, 190, 278, 365, 366.

Tughān, Mīr,—an *Aḥadī* in the service of Akbar, 367.

Tughlaq-ābād,—in the vicinity of Dihlī, 6.

Tukriya, a nickname given by the common people to Ḥusain Khān, sister's son of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, for having, when governor of Lāhor, ordered the Hindūs to sew on their garments a patch of stuff (*Tukrā*) to distinguish them from Muslims, 227.

Tulabnah, town of, 166 *n* 4. See under Tulambah.
Tulak,—a servant of Bahādur Khān, Muḥammad Sa'īd Shaibānī (*q. v.*), and governor of Dībālpūr, 4.
Tulak Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Mālwah, 341. Probably the same as the next.
Tulak Khān Qūchīn,—one of the old Amīrs of Akbar, 54 and *n* 2, 157, 424. He is called Qūchīn in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī. See also the next.
Tulak Khān Qurchī, 3. Same as Tulak Khān Qūchīn (*q. v.*)
Tulambah, town of, 161 and *n* 1, 166 and *n* 4. Sometimes called Tulabnah.
Tumantogh,—or
Tumantoq, signification of the word, 346, 354.
Tūrān, country of,—the land of the Turks, 298.
Turbat,—name of a tribe in Khurāsān, 64 *n* 5.
Turk Subḥān Qulī,—one of the imperial Amīrs, 158, 169, 232, 249.
Turkey, 149.
Turkistān, 318.
Turkmāns, the, 172, 375.
Turkomāns, the. See the above.
Turks, the, 39, 47 *n* 4, 248.
Ṭūs, town of,—in Persia, 35 *n* 3, 317.
Tusanī, title of Rāi Manohar, son of Rāī Lonkaran, Governor of Sāmbhar, 259.
Ṭuṭī-nāmah, the,—a famous collection of tales, 186. [23 *n* 4.
Tuyūl lands, the,—not hereditary, but conferred for a specified time,
Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī or the Memoirs of Jahāngīr, 390 *n* 2, 391 *n* 4, 398 *n* 3.

U.

Uchh, town of, 418 and *n* 1.
Udaipūr, district and town of,—in Rājpūtānā, 106, 233 *n* 1. See also the next and under Ūdīpūr.
Udaipūr Komalmair, district of, 105. See also the above and under Ūdīpūr.
Udai Singh, Rānā of Chīṭor. See under Udī Singh and Rāī Udī Singh.
Udaya,—the Hindi form of the name Ūdī, 48 *n* 2.
Ūdī,—name of persons, the Hindi Udaya, 48 *n* 2.
Ūdīpūr or Mēwār, a Rājpūt State, 45 *n* 8, 48, 249, 275 *n* 2. See also under Udaipūr and Udaipūr Komalmair.
Udī Singh, Rāī,—Rānā of Chīṭor, 26 *n* 2. See also under Rāī Udī Singh.
Ujain. See under Ujjain.
Ujayn. See under Ujjain.
Ujjain, district and town of, 43 and *n* 3, 68, 105, 110, 153, 250, 391. See the next.
Ujjayinī, *i.e.*, "victorious," the name of Ujjain in Sanskrit, 43 *n* 3. See the above.
Uljah, signification of the word, 47, *n* 1.
Ulugh Beg-i-Gurgān, Mīrzā,—a most powerful king of the House of Tīmūr, 276.

Ulugh Khān, the Abyssinian,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 145, 292.
Ulugh Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā,—one of the descendants of the second son of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1, 93, 105.
Ulur, Lake,—a lake between two mountains in Kashmīr, called also Zain-lankā, 398 *n* 3.
'Umān, Sea of,—the sea between India and Africa, 421 and *n* 3.
'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Tīmūr, 87 *n* 1.
Umm Kulsūm, daughter of 'Alī, son of Abī Ṭālib, 328.
Ummaiya, sons of,—the Damascus dynasty of Caliphs, 248.
Ummīd 'Alī,—one of the servants of Mīrzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān and administrator of the affairs of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm, son of Humāyūn, 62.
Ūnḍchah, town of, 391 and *n* 4. Spelt in our maps *Oorcha*.
'Urfī of Shīrāz, Mullā,—a celebrated poet, 387.
Uriah, of Scripture, 349. [*n* 6.
Urumiyeh, Lake of,—in Persia, 243
Uymāqs, the,—a Turkish tribe, 355.
Uzbeks, the, 75, 83, 303, 355, 366, 367, 409, 416.

V.

Vādī, from the Sanscrit *Vādya*,—meaning of the word, 315 *n* 1.
Vakīl or Prime-minister, office of,—the first of the four officers of the empire, 29, 34, 70 *n* 4.
Vazīr, office of,—the second of the four officers of the empire, 70 *n* 4. See alse the next two words.
Vazīr-i-kul, 290 *n* 2.
Vazīr-i-Mutlaq,—one of the High Officers of the empire, 290 *n* 2. Same as the *Dīwān-i-kul*, or Head of the twelve *Dīwāns* of the empire.
Vazīr Khān, brother of Āçaf Khān, Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, 78, 86, 94 and *n* 2. See also under Wazīr Khān.
Vazīr Khān, title of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, son of Walī Bēg Zu-l-Qadr, (*q. v.*), of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 297, 298.
Vazīr Khān Jamīl Bēg,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 290.
Vazīr Khān, title of Malik Sānī Kābūlī, *vazīr* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, ruler of Kābul, 300.
Vedas, the, 215 *n* 1.
Venus,—one of the *Sa'dain* or two beneficent planets, the other being Jupiter, 87 *n* 1.
Vibhīshaṇa, brother of Rāvan, the ruler of Lankā,—joins Rāmā against his brother, 347 *n* 3.
Vikramā-ditya,—Sanscrit form of the name Bikramājīt, (*q. v.*), 184 *n* 2.
Vīra-vara, or best warrior, 164 *n* 6. See under Bīrbar Rājah.
Vrihaspatī Māna,—the common luni-solar year of the Hindūs, 367 *n* 3.
Vüller's *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, 196 *n* 4, 311 *n* 4, 398 *n* 5, 405 *n* 3, 423.

W.

Waḥdat 'Alī, brother of Jallālah the Roshanāī, (*q. v.*), 401.

Wais Mīrzā, son of Mīrzā Bāiqrā, son of Mīrzā Mançūr,—a descendant of the second son of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1.

Wajīhu-d-dīn, Shaikh,—a learned and profound sage, 385.

Wajīhu-l-mulk,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 145.

Wajrāīl, district of,—in the Sawālik Mountains, 129.

Walī Bēg Atkah, 35. See under Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah.

Walī Bēg the Turkomān,—one of the officers of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 4. See the next.

Walī Bēg Zu-l-Qadr,—one of the partisans of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 33, 35, 38. See the above.

Walī Na'mat Bēgum,—or

Walī Ni'mat Bēgum, wife of Mīrzā Sulaimān, ruler of Badakhshān, 61 and *n* 6, 89, 90, 217, 425.

Wāsi', *or wide*, 60 *n* 1. See under 'Abdu-l-Wāsi'.

Wazīr Khān, brother of Āçaf Khān, Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, —one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 86, 89 and *n* 2, 169, 170, 171, 173, 296. See also under Vazīr Khān and the next.

Wazīr Khān, Governor of Gujrāt, 256. Same as the above.

Wazīrpūr Mandalgaṛh, town of, 105. Called simply Mandalgaṛh or Mān-dal Gaṛh, which also see.

William, the Conqueror,—his falling down on landing in England, 40 *n* 1.

Wilson and Mill, History of British India, 240 *n* 3.

Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms, 371 *n* 2.

Y.

Yadgār Kal, nephew of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Razwī, governor of Kashmīr, —makes himself Sulṭān of Kashmīr for a short while, 394, 395, 396.

Yaḥā [Yaḥyā], Khwājah, son of the celebrated saint the Khwājah Aḥrār, 57.

Yaḥyāpūr,—a place in the environs of Jounpūr where the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadī meet, 179.

Yak, [Bos Grunniens], the Khiṭā-ī bull, 377.

Yakaspah,—one of the divisions of the Aḥadī troopers, 194 and *n* 2.

Yaklāna, used incorrectly for the district of Baglāna, 151 *n* 1.

Ya'qūb Çirfī or Çarfī of Kashmīr, Shaikh,—a great writer and authority on religious matters, 127, 139, 266, 407, 417. Çarfī is his *takhalluç* or poetical name.

Ya'qūb of Kashmīr, Mīr,—Wakīl of Ḥusain Khān, governor of Kashmīr, 128.

Ya'qūb, Qāzī,—an inhabitant of Dihlī and son-in-law of Qāzī Fazīlat Shershāhī,—for ten years Qāzī of the realm and then district Qāzī of Gaur, 104, 212, 213, 285.

Ya'qūb, son of Yūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, Governor of Kashmīr before its conquest by Akbar, 365, 380.

Yār,—title of Yār Muḥammad, son of Çādiq Khān, 391.

Yār Muḥammad, alteration of such names in the reign of Akbar, 324.

Yār Muḥammad, son of Çādiq Khān, —one of the attendants of Prince Sulṭān Murād, the second son of Akbar, 391.

Yā Sīn,—title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'ān, considered and often used as a name of Muḥammad, 35 and *n* 4.

Yathrab [Yathrib],—old name of Madīnatu-n-Nabī, *i.e.*, Medina, in Ḥijāz, 324. [267.

Yazd, town of,—in Persia, 214, 230,

Yazīdī,—nickname of Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, (*q. v.*), 214. [32 *n* 1.

Yemen, country of, [Arabia felix],

Yule, Colonel,—his edition of Marco Polo, 405 *n* 2.

Yūsuf, the Patriarch, 132.

Yūsuf Khān, Kashmīrī, Governor of Kashmīr before its conquest by Akbar, 363, 364, 365.

Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, Mīrzā, 96 and *n* 1. See under the next.

Yūsuf Khān Mīrzā, son of Mīr Aḥmad-i-Razawī,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar and Governor of Kashmīr after its conquest fromYūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, 96 and *n* 1, 165, 178, 185, 376, 380, 394, 395, 396, 398. His name has also appeared as Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Razawī.

Yūsuf Khān Razawī of Mashhad, Mīrzā, 376, 394. See under the above name.

Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, son of Shamsu-d-dīn Atkah Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 34, 77.

Yūsuf Zāī,—chief of the Yūsufzāī Afghāns, 376.

Yūsufzāī Afghāns, the,—the Afghāns of Sawad and Bijor, 383. See also the next.

Yūsufzāīs, the,—an Afghān tribe, 369. See also the above.

Z.

Zafr Khān, Commandant of Patnah and Bihār, 235. Probably we should read Muzaffar Khān, *cf* p. 244 l. 19 and note 3.

Zain Khān Kokah,—one of the great Amīrs and generals of Akbar, sometime governor of Kābul, 345, 360, 361, 362, 363, 366, 368, 370, 393, 401, 402.

Zain-lankā,—a lake between two mountains in Kashmīr, 398 and *n* 3. The lake is also called *Ulur*.

Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, brother of Shahbāz Khān Shahru-llāh Kambū of

Lāhor,—one of the officers of the army, 291, 339, 340.

Zainu-l-'Ābidīn, son of al-Ḥusain, son of 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib,—the fourth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2.

Zainu-l-'Ābidīn, Sulṭān,—king of Kashmīr, 398, 415, 416.

Zakariyā of Ajodhan, Shaikh,—one of the principal 'Ulamā of his age, 265.

Zakariyā, Shaikh,—a hermit Dervish, 162.

Zāl, father of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Īrān, 79 *n* 3.

Zamānah Qulī,—one of the servants of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain (*q. v.*), 58.

Zamīn-bos, or kissing the ground,—name of the *sijdah* or prostration paid to Akbar as the head of religion, 266.

Zamīndārs, the, 47, 51.

Zamīndāwar, or Zamīn Dāwar, country of 402, 416.

Zanāniyah, fortress of, 104.

Zaqqūm, az,—a tree growing in the midst of Hell, the *euphorbia* of the ancients, 147 *n* 2.

Zardusht,—founder of the Zoroastrian religion, 268.

Zēbā Gul, Beautiful rose, 358 *n* 1.

Zia-al Barnī,—more properly Ziyā' or Zizāu-d-dīn Baranī, author of the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, 42 *n* 6.

Zikr-i-arrah, signification of the term, 423.

Zīn Khān Kokah. See under Zain Khān Kokah.

Zīnu-l-'Ābidīn, Sulṭān. See under Zainu-l-'Ābidīn, Sulṭān of Kashmīr.

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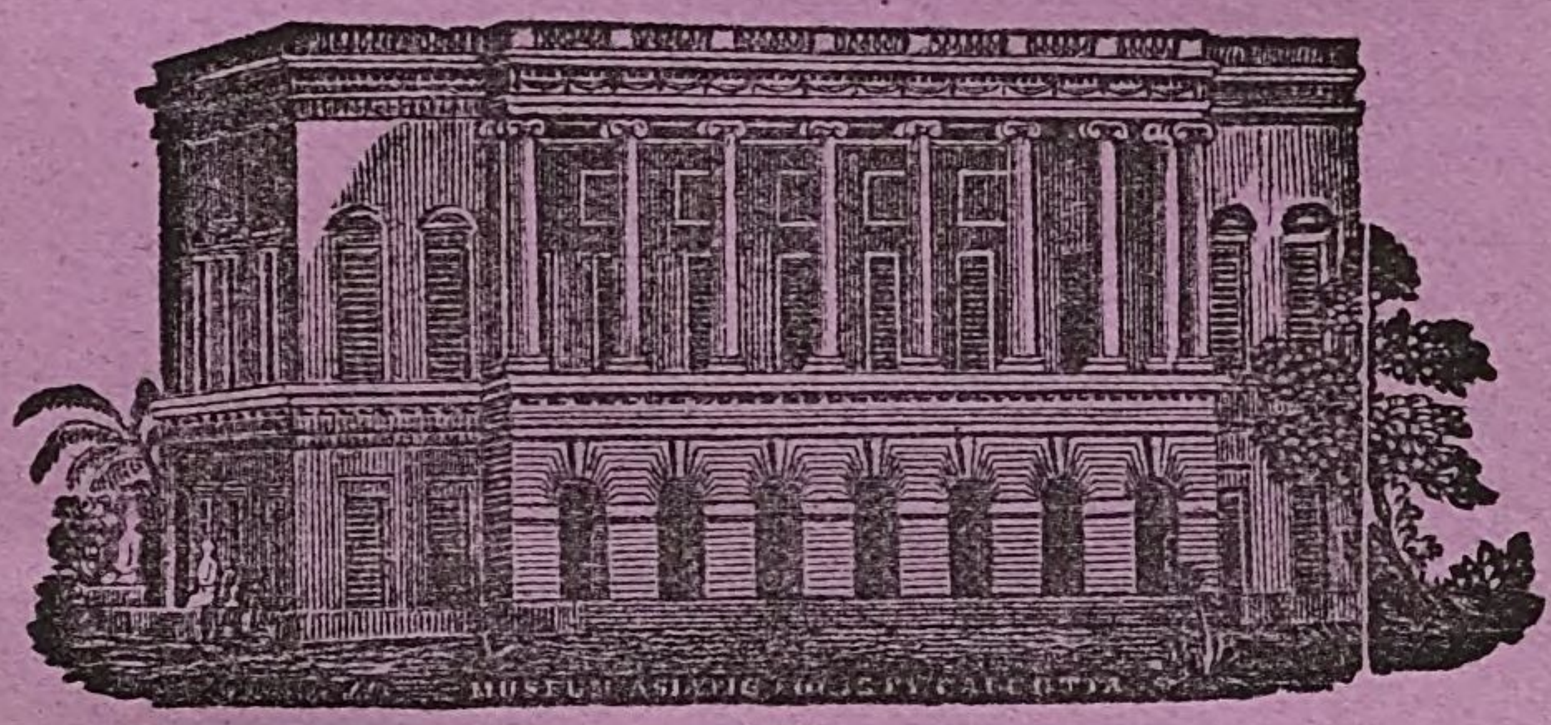

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BY

ABD-UL-QA'DIR BIN MALU'K SHA'H

KNOWN AS

AL-BADA'O'NI'

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY

W. H. LOWE, M. A.

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